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MARCH, 1933

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# SOCIAL FORCES

A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

THE SOCIAL WISDOM OF THE PRIMITIVES BY J. O. HERTZLER  
VICINAL ISOLATION AND MENTAL IMMOBILITY BY HOWARD  
BECKER

SOCIOLOGY IN ENGLAND BY ERNEST BOULDIN HARPER  
SOCIAL SERVICES IN LONDON SCHOOLS BY ROBERT E. CHADDOCK  
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# SOCIAL FORCES

*A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation*

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# SOCIAL FORCES

March, 1933

## THE SOCIAL WISDOM OF THE PRIMITIVES WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THEIR PROVERBS\*

J. O. HERTZLER

*The University of Nebraska*

### I

THE indispensable prerequisites to any social thought are association and language. It is due to association that men, even the most primitive, become aware of the various aspects of human nature, and it is out of association that their attitudes and ideas grow, however vague and fantastic they may be, regarding social relationships generally, the requirements of group conduct, social and psycho-social processes, social institutions, and human life in general. Without language there can be no communication of any kind; nor are men capable of developing concepts of any kind.

To pick up social thought at the precise moment when man developed the combination of simple association and rude speech is impossible at this stage of the study of social evolution. We may in

time know quite a bit about man at this point in his development. On the basis of his skeletal remains we now know something about him as an anatomical specimen, and with the aid of his rude artifacts we can piece together some aspects of his culture, but we have almost no inkling of his thought. The most rudimentary social thought now available is that of recent and contemporary primitive peoples—peoples who, while relatively rude, and simple, have a fairly substantial culture, including established ideas, standardized relationships, a flexible language, and a full equipment of institutions.

The thought of primitive peoples is largely pre-scientific and pre-literate. Their ideas are not reached by deliberate reasoning nor by careful and conscious investigation. They are direct and intuitive, the products of minds that are alogical, uncritical and credulous on the whole, and that depend on common experience, observation, and imagination for explanations.<sup>1</sup> Being pre-literate, their thought,

\* This article has grown out of a perusal of Chapter II on "Earliest Social Thought" of *A History of Social Thought* by Professor E. S. Bogardus. In this chapter he demonstrated a true stroke of genius in examining the proverbs of primitive peoples as reflectors of their social thought. This chapter has led me to undertake a further examination which may be considered supplementary to the treatment of Bogardus.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. L. Levy-Brühl, *Primitive Mentality*. New York, 1925, 24-28, 433-47; A. A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, New York, 1922, 410-412; W. I. Thomas, *Sourcebook for Social Origins*, Chicago, 1909, 68-9.



of necessity, is orally transmitted. It is thus in the main a matter of folk memory, and is cumulative and continuous.<sup>2</sup> Its outstanding forms are known collectively as folklore, and consist of myths, sayings, legends, maxims, sagas, fables, apothegms, proverbs, rhymes, riddles, tales, songs, and ballads. These are spoken of as "little pellets of practical wisdom or folk-experience."<sup>3</sup> Since these are orally conveyed they are in time given form and expression which makes them readily transmissible. They tend to be concise, trenchant, pungent, and graphic in statement.

These different forms of folklore do not all reflect social thought, however. In fact one of the outstanding characteristics of primitive thought is the relative scarcity of social thinking. This is partly due to the unrealistic, mystical manner of looking at things among primitives, and partly to the fact that the social conditions themselves are not particularly conducive to social thought, nor do these conditions demand much thinking about them. Primitive groups are mainly small, simple, kinship aggregations. Human relationships are fairly simple, as is life in general. There is no great demand for thinking on social structure, social organization, social reconstruction, the interdependence of groups, or any other social situations involving major groups or extensive group contacts.

Individual conduct is the primary consideration of a social nature in the simple group. Therefore, thought forms of primitives, in so far as they have social significance, deal with homely, more or less close personal or restricted social relationships and activities. They are

concerned with individual attitudes and conduct among fellows in simple and often recurring social situations. The expression of these simple observations is almost without exception from the individual angle.

## II

The language forms most clearly and abundantly expressing the social thought of primitive peoples are the proverbs. They are ubiquitous and almost universal among all races and peoples. The native American races, according to Kroeber, are the only exceptions, and some of these, notably the Omahas and Winnebagos, have epigrammatic sentences very like proverbs.<sup>4</sup> Going back to the remotest antiquity, we discover them embedded in the culture of Babylonia and Egypt; long before Confucius the Chinese had them. Non-literary savages almost everywhere have had their proverbs which they pass on from generation to generation.<sup>5</sup> In fact, primitive peoples often have a greater store of proverbial information than the more highly civilized peoples. Krappe states, "... the Maori of New Zealand may help to make this clear. Their proverbial lore, all handed down orally, as goes without saying, is truly astounding and easily puts in the shade the sum total of ancient proverbs that have come down to us from the Mediterranean civilization."<sup>6</sup> Proverbs are a typical primitive product. Great stores of them, however, still survive among civilized peoples

<sup>4</sup> A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, New York, 1933, 196-197. I have also been informed by a graduate student, who has lived for years among the Cherokees of Oklahoma, that they have a rich store of proverbs that find abundant use in their daily speech.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. article by J. A. Kelso in *Hastings' Encyclopedia Rel. & Ethics*, X, 413; E. Weekley, "Proverbs Considered" *Atlantic Monthly* 145 (April, 1930): 304.

<sup>6</sup> A. H. Krappe, *The Science of Folklore*, New York, 1930, 143.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Johnson, *Folk Memory*, Oxford, 1908, 18-20.

<sup>3</sup> W. G. Sumner and A. G. Keller, *The Science of Society*, New Haven, 1927-8, 754.

everywhere and are widely used by certain population elements.

Proverbs are typical, appropriate, highly popular, and well cherished expressional forms among pre-literate, illiterate, and partially literate peoples. Such peoples, devoid of writing, or unaccustomed to any very extensive use of writing, and yet being desirous of preserving the knowledge obtained from life and observation, both for themselves and posterity, found them satisfactory forms for storage and transmission. According to Krappe's definition "A proverb represents, in its essential form, some homely truth expressed in a concise and terse manner so as to recommend itself to a more or less extended circle."<sup>7</sup>

Proverbs represent the stage of unconscious organization of social thought as compared with the dialectical method in vogue from the Greeks to modern times and the very recent scientific method involving deliberate and if possible controlled fact-finding, exact observation, careful checking, and discreet generalization. Primitive or untutored men lived in a world of occurrences and experiences. Presently they observed or discovered what to them were certain facts or truths, pleasant and unpleasant, regarding these occurrences and experiences. They realized the importance of preserving the knowledge thus gained for use when similar circumstances should again arise, not only for their own use but also for posterity.<sup>8</sup> This best thought on some given point was passed on by word of mouth generation after generation, the meanwhile going through a perpetual selective process. If the idea was sound it was preserved, improved, condensed,

and stated more tritely or dramatically, so that it readily sank into the memory and won a zest that no lengthy explanation or philosophy could give.<sup>9</sup> Thus they are the generalized experience of many generations of people, the specific statements of which, in quaint, compact, rhythmic, epigrammatic form, are the result of long correction, clarification, and polishing. "Truths and principles, thus pointedly and epigrammatically put, when forced upon the receptive intellect, would stick like barbed arrows long after the same . . . would have faded from memory."<sup>10</sup>

Proverbs, being drawn from the experiences and study of a people's life, are among the most accurate index of that people's life and thought. They may not be true or represent truth, but they indicate what the people hold to as their rules and ideals of life and conduct.<sup>11</sup>

They are the safest index to the inner life of a people. With their aid we can construct a mental image of the conditions of existence, the manners, characteristics, morals, and *Weltanschauung* of the community which used them. They present us with the surest data upon which to base our knowledge of *Volkpsychologie*.<sup>12</sup>

They summarize, more or less, the everyday experience of a people—their thought in general, their intellectual status, their attitudes toward social situations and problems, their opinions and feelings, their group morality, their social ideas, their life goals, virtues and values—and do this better and more accurately than their religious or ethical system.<sup>13</sup> Among primitives proverbs form the foundation of

<sup>9</sup> Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, 2111.

<sup>10</sup> Kent, *The Wise Men of Israel and their Proverbs*, 48.

<sup>11</sup> Kelso, *op. cit.*, 412, 414.

<sup>12</sup> A. Cohen, *Ancient Jewish Proverbs*, London, 1913, p. 13.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Sumner and Keller, *op. cit.*, 2068; D. E. Marvin, *Curiosities in Proverbs*, New York, 1916, 4; E. Westermarck, "On the Study of Popular Sayings," *Nature* 142 (Nov. 3, 1928): 702.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, 143.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. C. F. Kent, *The Wise Men of Israel and their Proverbs*, New York, 1895, 47; *Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament*, New York, 1919, 167.

their social philosophy. They are literally the voice of the multitude.

Proverbs are widely used as instructional aids. Having the endorsement of many different ages and generations they have peculiar authority as social control agents. In fact their principal aim is to influence people's wills and actions.<sup>14</sup> In ancient Egypt the Instructions of Kagemni and Ptah-hotep, the Teachings of Amen-em-het, and the Maxims of Ani were orally taught the boys in the schools. The same use of proverbs was true of the Babylonians, the Chinese and various other ancient and mediaeval people. Among primitives everywhere proverbs are the choice coins in the treasury of the people's knowledge that are carefully passed on to the new generation by parents and elders both through daily conversation and admonition, and with the special emphasis of the initiation rites and secret societies.

Among primitives the most conservative attitude is maintained concerning their proverbs and other lore. In the repetition of proverbs or tales the smallest deviation from the original version will be noticed and corrected. This is probably due to the fact that the lore is felt to be vitally important, and since it is orally transmitted, they want no modification of it lest its significance and utility be lost. It goes without saying that proverbs not only reflect social life, but also play an exceedingly important rôle in the every day life of primitives. They are at the very center of primitive life and thought.<sup>15</sup>

There has long been a controversy as to whether proverbs originate with the people or come from wise men. Most of the evidence points to popular origin. While

a given proverb may have been first coined by one individual, or while it may have been put in its final pithy, pungent form by some wise man, the idea expressed in it represents centuries of folk experience and discussion along a given line. Furthermore, their transmission and persistence lies with the rank and file and not the *litterateurs*. Strictly speaking, they spring from the masses and are a matter of group cogitation. They are the spontaneous product of human experience rather than the expression of the meditations of any individual sage. Even if they must be attributed to individuals, the individuals were socially conditioned; their mind content came from their culture, and only the specific statement reflects individual genius.<sup>16</sup>

Proverbs expressing very similar ideas are found among ancients and moderns, primitives and civilized peoples. Some of these similarities are due to diffusion; for proverbs like other valuable and useful culture elements are widely borrowed.<sup>17</sup> But among a given people, only those foreign proverbs are adopted that are in some measure congenial to their mind and mode of life; otherwise, they would wither and die.<sup>18</sup> In the main, however, the similar proverbs among different peoples must be attributed to the fact that a certain phase of human existence, a certain set of social conditions or situations, or a certain characteristic of human beings is dealt with which is very much the same the world over, and causes men to think, feel, or react more or less uniformly. The idea will be the same, but the peculiarities of the particular environment will give the proverb its local coloring; it will reflect the

<sup>14</sup> E. Westermarck, *Wit and Wisdom in Morocco*, New York, 1931, 63.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. E. Westermarck, "On the Study of Popular Sayings," *Nature* 122 (Nov. 3, 1928): 702. See also his *Wit and Wisdom of Morocco*, 54-63.

<sup>16</sup> W. I. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 162; Krappe, *op. cit.*, 146; Kelso, *op. cit.*, 412; Weekley, *op. cit.*, 506.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Kroeber, *op. cit.*, 196.

<sup>18</sup> E. Westermarck, "On the Study of Popular Sayings," *Nature* 122: 702.



kind of life that the people live—their occupations and their way of thinking.<sup>19</sup>

The previously mentioned fact that proverbs flourish best among pre-literate, illiterate or partly literate peoples, is also borne out by the fact that they are a language form rapidly passing from usage in contemporary civilized cultures. Tyler, half a century ago, while granting that we and other civilized peoples were still using thousands of proverbs, maintained that among us the period of actual growth seemed to be at an end. He stated,

We can collect and use the old proverbs, but making new ones has become a feeble, spiritless imitation, like our attempts to invent new myths or new nursery rhymes.<sup>20</sup>

Albig quite recently has pointed out that current speech and literature provides but few quotations of or allusions to proverbs.<sup>21</sup> He found in several thousand pages of popular periodical material issued in July, 1930, only twenty-six proverbs, and of these seven were used to mildly ridicule them. Proverbs still flourish though in simpler societies where primary group conditions prevail, and in the primary relationships of our own modern life.

The increasing disuse of proverbs among the more civilized peoples is due to several factors. When a society becomes heterogeneous and complex, taking on the characteristics of a secondary group, the social situations are of such a nature that they cannot be expressed in the manner of a typical proverb; they are not simple, nor are they similar for all individuals. A high degree of unanimity in social judg-

ments does not exist among the people due to diverse cultural backgrounds. Furthermore, in a complex modern society, ideas are not orally transmitted to any great extent but are spread by means of the modern mechanical means of communication, which do not require the congregation of people, nor do they elicit response and discussion. Furthermore, as Albig mentions,<sup>22</sup> proverbs do not appear under conditions of rapid social change, and modern societies are especially characterized by such processes. Proverbs, in their very nature, apply best in more or less static societies where the situations and conditions they refer to remain fairly constant. Equally dogmatic but vastly more ephemeral language forms are used in changing societies.

Finally, we do not need proverbs any more. The rank and file of men are more highly educated than ever before. They are led to think more for themselves; thinking is more direct, more scientific and realistic. We do not use nor do we often understand the roundabout, figurative way of stating a social fact or situation. In fact, today for us moderns there are distinct disadvantages in the extensive use of proverbs. They take away the necessity of individual generalization and explanation. They reduce the demand for accurate observation and analysis, and correct expression. Those who use proverbs extensively have their thought both guided and confined by them.

Among the higher strata of civilization proverbs, when used, reflect social customs and beliefs long past.<sup>23</sup> They are largely cultural survivals—holdovers from the days when life was simpler and more personal. When they are used today they apply only to the simple situations and problems.

<sup>19</sup> Z. C. Boyajian, "Wit and Wisdom from the Near East," *Contemporary Rev.* 122 (Dec. '22): 744.

<sup>20</sup> E. B. Tyler, *Primitive Culture*, London, 1902, I, 90.

<sup>21</sup> W. Albig, "Proverbs and Social Control," *Sociology and Social Research*, 15 (July-August 1931): 527-535.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 534.

<sup>23</sup> Krappe, *op. cit.*, 149.

## III

The examination of proverbs that follows is strictly from the sociological point of view. We are not concerned with their anthropological or philological significance nor are we interested in their literary structure or the place they occupy in the formal study of folklore. We are devoting ourselves to them solely because they reflect the social life, social concepts, and social attitudes of primitive peoples.

In recent years anthropologists, folklorists and others interested in the forms of expression of primitives have collected and made available literally thousands of proverbs. By no means all of these have been available to the writer. Only a third to a half of approximately five thousand examined reflected social thought, and limitations of space have allowed the presentation of only a part of these. But those quoted, it is hoped, will convey to the reader the nature and spirit of primitive social thinking.

Classification of proverbs is difficult, as any one who has worked with them knows. Many may be classified under different heads. The arrangement below is an arbitrary one dictated by this particular sociologist's interpretation of the social content of the proverbs.

Observations of a social psychological nature abound in primitive proverbs. A recognition of the nature of habits, the processes of their formation, and their persistence frequently appears. The Ashanti, a West African people, say "A tree does not grow bent for thirty years that one should expect to straighten it in one."<sup>24</sup> Another runs, "When you follow behind your father you learn to walk like him." That old habits are not forgotten is expressed in the proverb found among

<sup>24</sup> The Ashanti proverbs here mentioned are taken from R. S. Rattray, *Ashanti Proverbs*, Oxford, 1916.

certain Moroccan tribesmen, "The dancer dies and does not forget the shaking of his shoulders."<sup>25</sup> The low-caste Hindu humorously puts the same idea as follows: "The thief has left off stealing, but not exchanging."<sup>26</sup> The Ba-Congo say, "Habit is a full-grown mountain, hard to get over or to pull down."<sup>27</sup> The parallel of our "You can't teach an old dog new tricks," is found in the Moroccan, "An old cat will not learn dancing," and an almost exact counterpart is the Yoruban, "An old dog cannot be taught."<sup>28</sup> Original tendencies more or less determine behavior also as certain of the Filipino tribes maintain: "Whichever side a tree leans there it falls,"<sup>29</sup> or "The zebra cannot do away with his stripes," as the Masai put it.<sup>30</sup>

The psychological and sociological implications of child training are thoroughly understood by the primitives. The plasticity of children is expressed by the Sechuana tribesman in the words, "Bend the twig while it is green."<sup>31</sup> The importance of the right kind of social environment for children is also put in the Sechuana proverb, "A young bird seldom crows except as it hears the old ones crow." To make instruction permanent start in youth. This the Moroccan tribesmen express in two proverbs: "Instruction in youth is like engraving in stones;" "Instruction in

<sup>25</sup> For the Moroccan proverbs see E. Westermarck, *Wit and Wisdom of Morocco*, New York, 1931.

<sup>26</sup> J. Cassidy, "A Chapter on Indian Proverbs," *Westminster Rev.* 164 (Oct. '05): 445-9.

<sup>27</sup> For the Ba-Congo proverbs see C. C. Claridge, *Wild Bush Tribes of Tropical Africa*, London, 1922, 248-259.

<sup>28</sup> Yoruban proverbs from A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, London, 1894, pp. 218-42.

<sup>29</sup> See collections of Filipino proverbs by Jorge Bocobo in the *Independent* 98: 496, and also those in W. D. Wallis, *An Introduction to Anthropology*, 323-4.

<sup>30</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Masai*, Oxford, 1905, 238-51.

<sup>31</sup> See S. T. Plaatje, *Sechuana Proverbs*, London, 1916.

old age is like engraving in dung." The Moroccans also maintain that improperly brought up children are due to the carelessness of parents. "The forest is only burnt by its own wood." The Ba-Congoese say, "Teach a child before it goes to the dance, not after it has come back." The Vai of West Africa maintain that the parent must assume responsibility for the way his children turn out when they say, "If a man raises a snake he must tie it."<sup>32</sup> A more lengthy Hawaiian proverb points out the increasing persistence of bad habits as the individual grows older: "Tender are the little sins when the child is creeping; transient in childhood; obstinate in youth, hard to change in maturity; and fixed in old age."<sup>33</sup> The Ashanti have many wise observations regarding the care and training of children. "The child which is to turn out any good is not reared entirely on a beautiful mat." "When your child dances badly, tell him, saying 'Your dancing is not good; and do not say to him, (Little) soul just dance as you want to.'" "When a child does not hear the words of its father and mother, there is misfortune in that." "Out of nine mischievous tricks a child thinks to play on others, he suffers for five of them himself." "When a child says he wants to act as if he were already chief, let him do so; as to whether he will ever become one, that no one knows." "When the grown-up threatens to punish, but does not carry out his threat, the children do not fear him." Referring also to child habits, a Moroccan proverb states, "If he steals a needle, he will steal a cow." The Ibo of the lower Niger region in thinking of the importance of parental discipline in preparing each new generation for life

say, "A son cannot first have a son before his father."<sup>34</sup> The Ba-Congo have several other most apt proverbs dealing with the parent-child relationship. When giving a reason for obedience to parents they say, "O space between two beds, obey the beds, you also will one day be a bed," and in admonishing a child not to get "too big" for his family they remark, "A fawn never forgets his own feeding ground."

The significance of experience is variously expressed. The Ashanti, emphasizing the importance of profiting by the experience of others and utilizing the cultural heritage, say, "When one stands on another's shoulders, then he sees over the market." The Arabs say, "Consult a man of experience, for he gives you what has cost him much and for which you give nothing."<sup>35</sup> They have another one which reads, "Experience is the looking-glass of the intellect." The Masai of Africa say, "We begin by being foolish and we become wise by experience," while the Ba-ila of northern Rhodesia admonish the young, "Get grown up and then you will know the things of the earth,"<sup>36</sup> and the Yorubas say, "A man may be born to a fortune, but wisdom only comes with length of days."

Various social pressures and stimuli that bear upon the individual are recognized. Fad or fashion at least as they affect externals is alluded to in the Arabic, "Eat whatsoever thou liketh, but dress as others do." Group opinion and its mode of influence is reflected in the Ashanti proverbs, "When it is the unanimous wish of a people that you dress your hair in a certain

<sup>34</sup> Taken from A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, London, 1906.

<sup>35</sup> For Arabian proverbs see *National Proverbs: Arabia*, London, 1913, or J. Wortabet, *Arabian Wisdom*, London, 1907.

<sup>36</sup> E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-Speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, London, 1920, Vol. II. 311ff.

<sup>32</sup> The Vai proverbs are from G. W. Ellis, *Negro Culture in West Africa*, New York, 1914, 147-183.

<sup>33</sup> L. S. Green and M. W. Beckwith, "Hawaiian Stories and Wise Sayings," *Publications of Folklore Foundation*, Vassar College, No. 3.



way, you are compelled to do so." "When the united people want to kill you, then the chief kills you." The influence of associates upon the individual behavior is put in the following words by the Arab tribesmen: "Smoke is no less an evidence of fire than that a man's character is that of the characters of his associates;" while the Vai of west Africa say, "One bad goat will spoil the herd."

Tradition and custom survive and are handed down. Thus the Ashanti say, "Ancient things remain in the ears," and also, "When you go into some village, the songs which the children sing, the old folks once sang and left behind to them." The Chaggas put the same thought in the words "The dead gazelle teaches the live gazelles."<sup>37</sup> The Maori of New Zealand commenting on the rightness of the ways inherited from the past say, "Great is the majority of the dead," or "It was not one alone who was awake in the dark ages."<sup>38</sup>

The idea of the "consciousness of kind" and "congregating with kind," has long been known and expressed in proverbial form. In *Ecclesiastes* it is stated, "All flesh consorteeth according to kind, and a man will cleave to his like." Empedocles put it, "Like desires like." Since the days of Aristotle we have expressed it in the form of "Birds of a feather flock together." Another English version goes "Every bird flies with its own species; pigeons with pigeons, hawks with hawks." The French say, "Pour épouser un singe il faut être guenon." The Yoruban savage of the Guinea Coast tritely states the same idea: "A fool of Ika and an idiot of Iluka meet together to make friends," while the Sechuana tribesmen say "Vultures eat with their blood rela-

tions," or "Spotted leopards lick together."

The Sechuana are aware of the stimulus that comes from association: "Men surpass one another while they are working together," and the Yorubas say, "Working in competition quickens the hands." The use of what we call "defense mechanisms" is not unknown to the primitives. Thus the Ashanti declare "He who is guilty is the one who has much to say," reminding one of Shakespeare's "Methinks he doth protest too much." The Ashanti have another that expresses the same thought even more aptly: "When you do not know how to dance, then you say, 'The drum is not sounding sweetly.'" A group motive of much the same sort is expressed in the words "When an army suffers defeat a horn is not blown in its honor," which recalls Mark Twain's remark that of all the paintings of French battle scenes that he beheld in the Louvre not a single one depicted a French defeat.

#### IV

Various observations are made in primitive proverbs regarding the desirable and the undesirable personal relations. The natives of Arabia have quite an array along this line: "Have patience with a friend rather than lose him forever;" "If you would keep your secret from your enemies keep it also from your friends;" "A friend is a second self and a third eye;" "He is a weak man who can make no friends, and still weaker is he who loses them;" "In social life be as friends, in business as strangers;" "The best friend is he who changeth not with the changes of time." Similarly the Moroccans say: "Your friend who is near is better than your brother who is far away;" "Little from the hand of a friend is much;" "The loss of goods is better than the loss of a friend;" "Face your friend, and turn your side to your

<sup>37</sup> On the Chaggas see C. C. F. Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and its People*, London, 1924, 341-346.

<sup>38</sup> P. Radin, *Primitive Man as a Philosopher*, New York, 1927, 166-7.

enemy." On the other hand there is an old proverb current among the Japanese, "Lend money to a friend and he is a friend no more."<sup>39</sup>

Other shrewd observations regarding friendship are found. The Yorubas say, "Peace is the father of friendship." The Ba-Congo in making some shrewd observations regarding holding a friend say, "If you love a hunter, love his dog," or, appreciate what is dear to him. An equally shrewd one is, "A familiar call is only made between those who understand each other." They also say, "It (i.e. friendship) never uses a peppercorn as an eye-drop." The Bagandas of Uganda cryptically note, "You have many friends as long as you are prosperous," and also "I had numbers of friends before calamity befell me."<sup>40</sup>

The fact of social interdependence is appreciated by primitives. Thus, the Yorubas of Africa say, "He who injures another injures himself,"<sup>41</sup> while the Ashanti state, "One man's road does not go far without meeting another's." Other pointed observations regarding human beings as psychic entities in groups follow. In Arabia it is said, "He who lives in a house of glass should not throw stones at people;" "He who makes enemies shall have many a restless night," and "Envy is a disease which does more harm to the envious than to the envied." The Sechuanan says, "Those who are fond of flattery are cheated out of their property," and "In the dark people hold to one another's cloaks," while the Bagandan observes "He who has not suffered does not know how to pity," and the Moroccan

in indicating how one is to be liked by people says, "Sow wheat, don't sow thorns, all the people will like you and love you." The Ashanti, pointing out one of the effects of proximity say, "The enemy of the chief is he who has grown up with him from childhood."

The peculiar quirks of human nature are well understood by primitives. After noting some of them one is led to exclaim "Well people are like that." A short list of such, not always flattering, follows:

*Arabia*—They wooed her and she resisted, they neglected her and she fell in love.

*Arabia*—When the dogs are sated they make presents to each other of what remains.

*Yoruba*—A man of the town knows nothing about farming, or the seasons for planting, but the yams he buys must always be large.

*Nandi*—The Sun said, "Whatever I do, the farmers curse me. If there is no rain, they say I burn their crops; if there is much rain, they complain that I do not shine."<sup>42</sup>

*Filipino*—A wise man's joke is believed by a fool.

*Ashanti*—As long as a chief leaves you alone, you say, "He and I are good friends."

*Ashanti*—One does not speak out one's mind in the presence of the chief, but behind his back one does.

*Hawaii*—The puffed mouth is full of wind.

*Sechuana*—The lout considers all other people louts.

*Sechuana*—Lions growl while they are eating (meaning that there are some people who will never enjoy anything).

*Sechuana*—Ears usually witness a matter without invitation.

*Ba-ila*—The prodigal cow threw away her own tail.

*Morocco*—The camel does not see his own hump, he sees only the humps of his brother.

*Ba-Congo*—When the dog has eaten the eggs his looks show it.

*Ba-Congo*—Don't set pigs to weed a farm of manioc nor cats to fry eels.

*Ibo*—The land is never void of counsellors.

*Yoruba*—He who marries a beauty marries trouble.

*Baganda*—A beautiful woman is the sister of many, (i.e., many want to be near her and share her favors).

*Yoruba*—He who has done something in secret, and

<sup>39</sup> W. E. Griffes, *Proverbs of Japan*, New York, 1930.

<sup>40</sup> On Baganda proverbs see J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, London, 1911, 485-491.

<sup>41</sup> J. A. Farrer, *Primitive Manners and Customs*, New York, 1879, Chapter II.

<sup>42</sup> A. C. Hollis, *The Nandi*, Oxford, 1909, 124-132.

sees people talking together, thinks they are talking of his action.

*Yoruba*—The glutton having eaten his fill, then calls his companions to come also.

*Yoruba*—A chicken having been delivered from death (from the hawk) by being shut up, complained because it was not allowed to feed openly on the dust heap.

The sly social opinion voiced by us in the words "When the cat's away the mice will play," has its primitive equivalents also. The Sechuana say, "The giant tortoise is asleep and the little ones graze where they like." The Banyoros of Central Africa put it, "When the master is absent the frogs climb up the house,"<sup>43</sup> and the Vai of West Africa say, "In the absence of the leopard the bush cat is King of the bush."

One finds interesting attitudes toward different types of people. Thus the Japanese comment, "When you find a truthful courtesan and a four-cornered egg, the new moon will appear a day before its time." Among the Arabs they say, "A harlot repented for one night. 'Is there no police officer,' she exclaimed, 'to take up harlots?'" The Hindus in referring to an artful and lascivious woman who pretends to modesty and timidity say, "She wanders all night in the forest, and when morning comes is afraid of a crow." Our knowledge that some people are "all things to all men" is expressed by the Hindu in the words, "He tells the thief to steal and the honest man to keep watch." The Sechuana in phrasing our "Fools rush in where angels fear to tread," puts it "We commoners rush in anywhere and plough over wide fields." The Omaha Indians in thinking of certain types say, "All persons dislike a borrower;" "No one mourns the thriftless," and "The path of the lazy leads to disgrace."<sup>44</sup> The Ba-Congo

points out that, "He who pokes into the business of others is never without dirty feet;" "A doctor bald to the nape of his neck is not likely to cure anybody of baldness;" and that "Those who inherit fortunes are often more troublesome than those who make them." The Nandi observe, "The man who is always crying is not listened to," and the Yorubas declare that "Secrets should never be told to a tattler."

The noisy people may not necessarily be the wise ones. The Japanese say "The silent may be worth listening to," and also in referring to the loud talkers "While their tongues wag their brains sleep." The Arabians have one, "One coin in the money-box makes the more noise than when it is full," that is very similar to the inelegant but expressive mid-western proverb, "An empty wagon makes the most noise." Similarly the Mexicans say, "A howling cat is not a good hunter," while Arabians put it, "A crying cat catches nothing." Malicious speech and gossip is referred to by the Arabians in the proverbs, "The wound caused by the lancehead is curable, but that caused by the tongue cannot be cured," and "The tongue is the neck's enemy," while the Japanese say, "The tongue, but three inches long, can kill a man six feet high." In speaking of the inability to withdraw words once spoken, the Ashanti say, "When you place your tongue in pawn, you cannot redeem it," while the Samoans put the same thought thus, "Stones will rot but words never rot."<sup>45</sup> In emphasizing caution in speech the Nandi say, "Do not say the first thing that comes into your head," reminding one of our admonition to "Think twice before you speak." The Ba-Congo also state, "It is better to shout after the

<sup>43</sup> For Banyoro proverbs see A. L. Kitching, *On the Backwaters of the Nile*, London, 1912, 132-140.

<sup>44</sup> W. D. Wallis, *An Introduction to Anthropology*, New York, 1926, 323.

<sup>45</sup> G. Brown, "Proverbs of the Samoans," *Proc. Australian Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1913.

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war than before it." In calling attention particularly to the evil chatter of women the Sechuanans say "Women's gossip breeds civil wars," and "A woman can set towns aquarelling."

The idea that compensation or retribution follow certain social acts is oft expressed. The Filipinos say, "You laugh today, I laugh tomorrow;" the Sechuana native states that "A crime eateth its own child;" while the Basutos of South Africa will say "The thief eats thunderbolts," meaning he will suffer vengeance from heaven, or "The thief catches himself."<sup>40</sup> The Yorubas, voicing identically our idea of "Curses come home to roost," say, "Ashes fly back in the face of him who throws them." The Moroccan desert tribes, in addition to the rather widespread proverbs, "He who digs a pit for his brother will fall into it," and "As you sow you will reap," also have the following:

He who has done something will have it done to him.

Every sheep hangs by its own leg.

He who sows good will reap peace.

He who sows evil will harvest repentance.

He who sows thorns must walk on them barefoot.

The Nandi, having observed that the innocent relations of the punished criminal also suffer, say, "If a dead tree falls, it carries with it a live one."

A great number of primitive proverbs and maxims are statements of simple social duties or obligations, and in them will frequently be found the expression of a typical social value. Interesting are the following:

*Omaha Indian*—Stolen food never satisfies hunger.

*Filipino*—Kindness is a great capital.

*Arabia*—To recompense good for good is a duty.

*Arabia*—The worst kind of recompense is to requite evil for good.

*Morocco*—What you desire for yourself you should desire for others.

*Morocco*—Beautify your tongue, you will obtain what you desire. (Good speech)

*Yoruba*—Who has patience has all things.

*Filipino*—He who despises counsel is on the way to misfortune.

*Ashanti*—When a king has good counsellors, then his reign is peaceful.

*Filipino*—Though my house is small, my heart is large. (Hospitality)

*Morocco*—If people are standing at the door of your house, don't shut your door for them. (Hospitality)

*Morocco*—None but a dog bites in his own house. (Disgrace of quarrelling with a guest.)

*Ibo*—One who does what he says is not a coward.

*Baganda*—Gentleness and not force arrives at truth.

*Yoruba*—Strife never begets a gentle child.

*Yoruba*—He who forgives ends the quarrel.

*Yoruba*—Covetousness is the father of disease.

*Yoruba*—Not to aid one in distress is to kill him in your heart.

*Ba-Congo*—Everybody to his own calling and nobody to any other.

*Ba-Congo*—Kindness wins men not pride.

*Ba-Congo*—Pride only goes the length one can spit.

*Ba-Congo*—Kindness is like trees in a farm, they lean towards each other.

*Ba-Congo*—It is best to let an offense repeat itself at least three times; the first offense may be an accident, the second a mistake, but the third is likely to be intentional.

*Ba-Congo*—O man, what you do not like do not to your fellows.

*Ba-Congo*—Mutual love is often better than natural brotherhood.

*Ba-Congo*—One must never pay back an offender in his own coin.

*Ba-Congo*—Other people's property ought not to make you envious.

*Ba-Congo*—If you see a jackal in your neighbor's garden drive it out, one may get into yours one day, and you would like the same done for you.

*Ba-Congo*—To take revenge is often to sacrifice oneself.

*Ba-Congo*—Don't trick others lest in tricking them you teach them the way to trick you.

*Ba-Congo*—A good deed never dies.

*Ba-Congo*—Help those who cannot help themselves.

*Morocco*—The niggard is niggardly with regard to himself, and the money of the generous will come back to him.

*Arabia*—Charity lies between two charities—one to yourself, the other to your needy fellow man.

*Morocco*—He is like a needle that clothes the people and is himself naked. (One who gives excessively)

*Japan*—To hate a man is like grinding a sword to cut yourself.

<sup>40</sup> E. B. Tyler, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, 88.

*Arabia*—He who treats you as he treats himself does you no injustice.

*Morocco*—A man who is pure and gentle is to the people like gold in the pocket.

*Arabia*—Extremes are a mistake—a middle course is best.

*Winnebago Indian*—Never overdo anything.<sup>47</sup>

Certain personal qualities and habits are emphasized.

*Filipino*—A lazy dog does not get even bones.  
(Industry)

*Filipino*—Working early is better than working hard.  
(Foresight)

*Filipino*—If you want to fool, pretend to be a fool.  
(Shrewdness)

*Arabia*—There is no good in a man who is not ashamed of men.

*Arabia*—He who respects not himself can have no respect for others.

*Yoruba*—He that forgives gains the victory.

*Yoruba*—Anger benefits no one.

*Yoruba*—He who has patience has all things.<sup>48</sup>

*Vai*—A man can leave his house, but he cannot leave his way. (His reputation sticks.)

*Yoruba*—Wherever a man goes to dwell his character goes with him.

*Yoruba*—A dog that is known to be very swift is the one chosen to catch the hare.

*Basuto*—Perseverance always triumphs.

*Basuto*—A good name makes one sleep well.

## V

The importance of the wisdom and power of the great man or leader is generally recognized. The Yorubas maintain that "Ordinary people are as common as grass, but good people are dearer than the eye." The Moroccans have several proverbs on this point: "The herd of cattle should not be without a bull" (leader and ruler); "The lord of the people is he who is most useful to all people;" and "The supposition of the wise man is better than the certainty of the ignorant." The Ibo of the lower Niger, in pointing out the necessity of having a leader, say, "A canoe without a steerer can easily go astray."

<sup>47</sup> Radin, *op. cit.*, 93.

<sup>48</sup> Farrer, *op. cit.*

The natives of the south-east Solomon Islands, in referring to the importance of a chief, exclaim, "When a chief declaims the very ground is rent asunder."<sup>49</sup> The wisdom of being diplomatic with those in control is stated by the Yorubas in the words, "If a man powerful in authority should ill-treat you, smile at him."

The experience and steadiness of old men and the advisability of the young being modest among them is occasionally dwelt upon. The Ba-Congo say "Water drawn by old men quenches thirst" (old men are to be relied upon); and "A bridge-pole (over a river) held by an old man (whilst you cross over) never shakes or turns over." On the other hand the Yorubas say, "The younger should not thrust themselves into the seat of the elders," and "The young cannot teach the elders traditions."

Marriage, family affairs, the desirability of children, mother-love, and family rank are the subjects of numerous proverbs. The Yorubas, using our idea of "Marry in haste and repent at leisure," say "Quick loving a woman means quick not loving a woman." The Omaha Indian girls are told, "A handsome face does not make a good husband." When contemplating marriage the Moroccan tribesmen warn, "The ancients said, marriage takes a night, thinking of it a year," or "Don't take a wife who has money, she will treat you with arrogance, and say to you, 'Fetch water (which is a woman's business),' or again, 'Marriage without good faith is like a tea-pot without a tray.'" For the Arabic tribesmen marriage is a desirable state. They say, "The advantages of marriage are purity of life, children, pleasures of home, and the happiness of exertion for the comfort of wife and children." Childless marriages are an extreme misfortune

<sup>49</sup> W. G. Ivens, *Milanesians of the South-east Solomon Islands*, London, 1927.

for the Moroccan who voices the thought in "A man without children is like a horse without a tether," or "A marriage without children does not last long for men." The Chaggas of the Kilimanjaro region, looking upon children as a blessing, in fact, as a form of immortality, repeat, "He who leaves a child lives eternally."<sup>50</sup>

The devotion to mothers is stated by the Ashanti particularly in two proverbs: "When your mother is poor, you do not leave her and go and make someone else your mother," and again, "Even if your mother is not a good woman, she is your mother nevertheless." The nature of mother-love is universally known. Among the Ba-ila it is expressed in the words, "What is ugly to other people is fair in the sight of the child's mother;" among the Moroccans it is said that "Every beetle is a gazelle in the eyes of its mother," and the Ba-Congo say, "Though a leopard gives birth to a palm-rat she does not eat it."

The relationship between a nation and its homes is expressed by the Ashanti in the words, "When a nation is about to come to ruin, the cause begins in the homes (of its people)." Family and rank get special consideration among many primitives. The Ashanti say "When a man of noble family is mad, people say he is only the worse for wine." On the other hand "Nobility should be borne as one eats fish (humbly) and not as one partakes of elephant flesh," (proudly, and boasting about it). Finally "An ancient name cannot be cooked and eaten; after all, money is the thing."

Wealth, poverty, the relationship between rich and poor, and the effects of poverty and wealth are the subject of some proverbs. The Ibo say "Wealth makes

the soup taste nice," and also "Money is the source of right." Daily saving as a means of acquiring wealth is advised by the Vai in the proverb, "A little rain every day will make the rivers swell," and the Yorubas say, "By labor comes wealth." Of the wealthless state the Ashanti say, "Poverty is stupidity," "Poverty is madness." Again they say of its universality, "Poverty is like honey, it is not peculiar to one place alone." The poor are of little consequence and are given little consideration. In this connection the Ashanti say, "A poor man does not choose his sleeping place;" "The complaint a poor man brings is investigated briefly;" and "When a poor man makes a proverb, it does not spread abroad." The poor must do much bearing of their lot according to the Arabian tribesmen who say, "A poor man without patience is like a lamp without oil." The Moroccans say, "The speech of the owner of gold is exalted, and the speech of the poor man is rejected;" or, "If a poor man speaks the truth, they drive him away and in addition spit on him." The Ibo also say, "A rich man is seldom condemned, for the mouth which eats another man's property is benumbed."

"The poor man and the rich man do not play together," is the way the Ashanti express the social cleavage between rich and poor. The effect of riches or wealth is generally conceded to be bad. The Filipinos say, "He who is raised in ease is usually destitute," and in the opinion of the Arabians, "Riches are the fomenters of desire, the thirst after wealth is more vehement than after water," and "Covetousness is the punishment of the rich." The Chaggas, noting that riches create envy, say, "Your wealth is your destruction;" the desirability of a man with money is expressed by the Moroccans in the words, supposedly in the mouths of the women, "Oh, baldheaded man with

<sup>50</sup> On the Chaggas see C. C. F. Dundas, *Kilimanjaro and its People*, London, 1924, 341-6.



money, give that head that I may kiss it." Veblen's idea of conspicuous display is foreshadowed in the Moroccan "As much clothing you dress in so much are you worth." Many will be encouraged to know that among the Arabian tribesmen for untold generations "The remedy against bad times is to be patient with them," and that "In business the middle way is best."

Finally things are not the same everywhere. The Arabians say, "The calamities of one nation turn to the benefit of another," and the Ashanti hold that "A matter which in one place is a subject of mirth in another place is a cause of tears." Change is everywhere noticeable. The Ashanti say, "In one chief's reign skins are treated by having the hairs singed off, in

that of another the skins are spread in the sun." The Maori put it, "A chief dies, another takes his place," the Hawaiians, "Man is like a banana the day it bears first" (after the banana plant has borne fruit, it dies down and another takes its place), and the Masai, "Nobody can say he is settled anywhere forever; it is only the mountains which do not move from their places."

From this brief and partial survey it can be seen that while the proverbs of primitives are not sociological thought, strictly considered, and while they only rarely deal directly with social situations as such, they are rich in social wisdom, and reflect competently and concisely the social traditions, attitudes, and philosophies of the people using and perpetuating them.

## VICINAL ISOLATION AND MENTAL IMMOBILITY

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THE first point to be clarified in any discussion of isolation is the difference between geographical and vicinal isolation. The term "vicinage," or rather an adjectival variant in the phrase "vicinal location" (or position), was chosen by Semple as a translation of Ratzel's *Lage*, and was differentiated from geographical location as follows:

A people has . . . a twofold location, an immediate one, based upon their actual territory, and a mediate or vicinal one, growing out of its relations to the countries nearest them. The first is a question of the land under their feet; and the other of the neighbors about them.<sup>1</sup>

This distinction, made at least forty years ago by Ratzel, is the same one that

has appeared in the recent literature of "human ecology" as "ecological position," as this quotation bears witness:

Ecology, in so far as it seeks to describe the actual distribution of plants and animals over the earth's surface, is in some very real sense a geographical science. Human ecology, as the sociologists would like to use the term, however, is not identical with geography, nor even with human geography. It is not man, but the community; not man's relation to the earth which he inhabits, but his relations to other men, that concern us most.<sup>2</sup>

Compare with this statement the following declaration by an exponent of human geography:

While sociology has given some attention to the relation of society to the natural environment, espe-

<sup>1</sup> Ellen C. Semple, *Influences of Geographic Environment*, p. 132.

<sup>2</sup> Robert E. Park, "The Urban Community as a Spatial Pattern and a Moral Order," in *The Urban Community*, Park and Burgess, eds., p. 3.

cially in connection with social origins as expressed in the life of primitive people, this branch of human ecology has not been systematically studied, nor can it be until both geography and sociology have made further progress. Whether this work will be done chiefly by geographers or by sociologists is not apparent. Evidently sociology always will deal very largely with cultural relations among men, *that is to say with the social environment of man*, and this clearly differentiates the center of its field from that of geography.<sup>3</sup>

And a great French geographer says roundly:

Geography is the science of places, not of man.<sup>4</sup>

In other words, a hypothetical human being who had never had any contacts with other human beings except those involved in the birth process, like Mowgli of Jungle Book fame, would have geographical location, but he would not have vicinal position, for the latter implies relations with other human beings. Vicinal position cannot exist without geographical location as a substratum, so to speak, but geographical location may be greatly changed with relatively little alteration in vicinal position, and conversely. Relations of association and dissociation may be objectively mirrored in an actual change of spatial relations, but there is no inherent antecedence or consequence in the relation of the vicinal and geographical factors.<sup>5</sup> The correlation is not to be assumed but established; like the despised Schoolmen, our task is to determine "of the things that are, that they are; of the things that are not, that they are not." This is by no means a simple matter, as Febvre shows:

Isolation varies just as distance does, and in an analogous way. It is not to be measured in miles or

by the aid of a compass. It has its paradoxes and surprises.<sup>6</sup>

Isolation . . . is a very complex idea, and is not purely and simply a 'natural' one. It cannot be translated into mere numbers, any more than distance, which is no longer a fixed notion but varies continually with the progress of means of transport, their multiplication, and their increase in power.<sup>7</sup>

. . . from the inside of an office, without touching in any way whatever the material agents of distance, the board of administration of a great transport company can alter the actual [i.e. time-cost] distance from one country to another by raising or lowering its tariffs, by a deliberate and calculated diminution or acceleration of speed, by trickery or goodwill.<sup>8</sup>

It goes almost without saying that the earlier social theorists did not discriminate between geographical and vicinal isolation; the two are inextricably intermingled in all their discussions. As a matter of fact, only with the advent of Bagehot's *Physics and Politics* did the concept of isolation receive adequate attention, and then largely because of the trenchant qualities of the Englishman's style.

. . . the "protected" regions of the world—the interior continents like Africa, outlying islands like Australia or New Zealand—are of necessity backward.<sup>9</sup>

Ratzel, from whom the modern trend in human geography derives, also stated the case with clarity and force:

For estimating the importance of external suggestion, nothing is more instructive than the consideration of races which are poorest in an ethnographical sense. Of them we can say that they are invariably also those whose intercourse with others is scantiest. Why are the most remote races at the extremities of the continents or on the less accessible islands the most destitute? . . . Every glance at the conditions and mode of these peoples' life shows how sharp is their struggle to maintain bare existence, but it also shows the impoverishing effects of remoteness from

<sup>3</sup> Harlan H. Barrows, "Geography as Human Ecology," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, XIII, March 1923, No. 1, 6.

<sup>4</sup> P. Vidal de La Blache, "Les caractères distinctifs de la géographie," *Ann. de Geogr.*, XXII (1913).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Wiese-Becker, *Systematic Sociology*, pp. 71 ff., 140 ff., 241 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Lucien Febvre, *A Geographical Introduction to History*, p. 233.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 232.

<sup>8</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>9</sup> Walter Bagehot, *Physics and Politics*, p. 52.

the great streams of traffic. The out-of-the-way situation of Australia, southern South America, the interior of South Africa and eastern Polynesia, exercises the same impoverishing influence everywhere upon the indigenous races.<sup>10</sup>

An American writer has thus used the concept in explaining the remarkably slow pace of development during the earlier Stone Age:

... from one point of view, the upward trend of culture has been a steady struggle against the barriers of isolation, for we have seen how the speeding-up of culture progress comes with each advance in the means of spreading knowledge. So we now have a broader view of culture, as not only a struggle of man to overcome the physical environment, but to annihilate isolation. Thus it may be that the snail's pace of palaeolithic culture can be adequately explained by isolation.<sup>11</sup>

One need not restrict his attention to preliterate or prehistoric peoples, however; the same phenomena are found in early and modern historic times:

When the scope of culture contacts is limited, intellectual impoverishment is unavoidable even when the wealth of ideas is apparently inexhaustible.

We find this to be true, for example, of the peoples who gave birth to our classical literature; "they knew and recognized only themselves" (Saint-Beuve). The mental isolation, the cramped imagination is evidenced in the use of ever-repeated metaphors and images from nature, history and mythology—novelty is virtually unknown, and even new combinations are rare.<sup>12</sup>

The biggest element in the retardation of Ozark life is the isolation that the surface has imposed on the inhabitant. . . . Even more significant than the exclusion of the outside world is the detached manner of living of the people. . . .

The simple result is that the isolation has kept social and economic progress at a snail's pace. The people were primitive in their condition when they came; they are nearly as primitive now.<sup>13</sup>

... little validity can be assigned to the allegation that the Alpine race is inherently backward and conservative. The presence of a large amount of conservatism among members of the Alpine race does not constitute any necessary proof of any racial tendency in this direction. Rather, it is due to those geographic conditions which surround these people. In other words, it is a matter of isolation.<sup>14</sup>

It is now clearly recognized that what we ordinarily call lack of intelligence in individuals, races and communities is frequently a result of isolation.<sup>15</sup>

There are . . . on every continent men of other races now first coming in contact with European culture. Some of these doubtless have capacities that, when stimulated by this contact, will produce striking examples of creative activity. Even those that retain most of their older culture will be likely to show considerable acceleration if given the proper stimulus and security. Most of these backward peoples are still in a state of tension. Release may come in any one of several ways, but it is likely that the most efficient agent will be contact with ideas from without.<sup>16</sup>

Interpretations such as these tend to raise the question, in Ogburn's phrase, "as to whether human nature predominantly resists change or is essentially change-loving."<sup>17</sup> An answer would in a sense be an answer to our general problem; the most we can do here is to examine a few bits of evidence.

Bagehot insists upon the rarity of cultural advance, and says categorically that "a stationary state is by far the most frequent condition of man. . . . When history begins to record, she finds most of the races . . . arrested, unprogressive, and pretty much where they are now."<sup>18</sup> The available data certainly show that many

<sup>14</sup> W. Z. Ripley, *Races of Europe*, pp. 515-29, abstracted in Franklin Thomas, *The Environmental Basis of Society*.

<sup>15</sup> Park, "Human Behavior," etc., in *The City*, p. 18.

<sup>16</sup> Ulysses G. Weatherly, *Social Progress: Studies in the Dynamics of Change*, p. 59.

<sup>17</sup> W. F. Ogburn, *Social Change*, p. 191.

<sup>18</sup> Bagehot, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

<sup>10</sup> Ratzel, *History of Mankind*, pp. 82-83.

<sup>11</sup> Wissler, *Man and Culture*, p. 322.

<sup>12</sup> Ratzel, *Politische Geographie*, p. 398.

<sup>13</sup> Carl O. Sauer, as quoted in Davis and Barnes, *Readings in Sociology*, p. 308.

preliterate and semi-literate peoples retain their old culture traits and complexes with the utmost persistence, that they manifest a high degree of *mental immobility*.

From such data Vidal de La Blache concludes that in isolated cultures a certain amount of advance may take place, but after a time "there comes a certain impotence." Unless intrusive factors break the vicious circle, stagnation reigns supreme. This is quite true, but it seems a bit rash to conclude from this that "man is sluggish by nature."<sup>19</sup> As Ogburn has properly pointed out, "in some situations human beings want to change and in others they do not;"<sup>20</sup> the one most unfavorable to change is vicinal isolation, but a situation can hardly be considered part of man's "original nature," no matter how frequently we may find it on the simpler levels of culture. In the more complex stages there is sometimes a premium upon change in the material culture.<sup>21</sup> Further, as the writer just mentioned has said, the difficulties of adopting new culture traits and complexes may be greater than the outsider imagines.<sup>22</sup> Ratzel and Wissler have thus stated the reasons for such difficulties:

The germ of civilization will not grow in every soil. The bulk of civilized methods which a race is capable of assimilating is in direct proportion to its average of civilization. Anything that is offered to it beyond this is only received externally, and remains of no importance to the life of the race, passing as time goes on into oblivion or rigidity. . . .<sup>23</sup>

<sup>19</sup> La Blache, *Human Geography*, pp. 325-26.

This belief has found root in American thought e.g., ". . . psychic inertia is a general trait of human, nay of animal, psychology" (A. A. Goldenweiser, "Culture and Environment," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXI, 632).

<sup>20</sup> Ogburn, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 173.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>23</sup> Ratzel, *op. cit.* I, 79.

. . . it is conceivable that the foundations for many culture areas were laid by the first immigrants. When this group found itself in a new environment, among new foods, etc., it was stimulated to invention and so began to work out an order of life more in keeping with this new setting. Thus, the initial tribe in the area enjoys priority; it is ahead, and . . . its culture is in a position to set the type. While . . . we are short of good data, what we see in the distributions of known cultures suggests that one of the conditioning factors in a culture area is the initial adjustment to the environment by the prior group. It is this initial solution that counts, and not necessarily the best solution.<sup>24</sup>

. . . when a culture-complex once develops as an adjustment to a locality and works fairly well, it tends to persist in that locality and may prevail over complete changes in blood and language. It need not be the best adjustment of its kind, but it offers the practical advantage of immediate and certain return and, once adopted, inhibits other adjustments, however superior they may be.<sup>25</sup>

It is interesting to note that in spite of his assumptions about man's "innate" sluggishness, Vidal de La Blache has come to much the same conclusion as Wissler, although he does not state it explicitly:

Sometimes it happens that contact with other civilizations slips off without making much of an impression. . . . There may be a certain amount of give and take, but between societies which are not yet ready to influence one another it is only superficial. When through the mediation of Spaniards and Portuguese the Dark Continent was put into communication with America, many new food-plants were introduced to African agriculture . . . [indeed] most of the plants which today are staple there. This ability to accept shows a certain aptitude for progress. But does it follow that the methods of tropical African agriculture were appreciably modified, that the plough replaced the hoe, or that new ways of improving and renewing the soil supplanted traditional methods? Not at all. Agricultural practices characteristic of that mode of life continued to be in favor, together with the social organisms to which they were so well adapted and coincident with which they came into being. *Village life within a limited circle of cultivated land remained the*

<sup>24</sup> Wissler, *op. cit.*, 186-7.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 126-7.



outstanding characteristic of their civilisation. The addition of a few plants did not change it in the least. The horizon of these small communities, *isolated each from the others* and for that reason open to attack from without, remained as narrow as hitherto. Except along the fringes of the Sahara no intense urban life has taken root on this soil, *not because it was antagonistic to civilisation*, but on the contrary, because an *exclusive* type of civilisation was already established there.<sup>26</sup>

Maine, Vallaux, and Keller thus comment on related phases of mental immobility and isolation:

The immobility of society is the rule; its mobility is the exception. The toleration of change and the belief in its advantages are still confined to the smallest portion of the human race and *even with that portion they are extremely modern*.<sup>27</sup>

"... on ne peut penser isolement un État du type complexe, tandis que l'existence des États simples se passe très bien du celle des autres États du même type."<sup>28</sup>

No civilization (sum or synthesis of mental adaptations) of any importance can be developed by individual or by limited group, in isolation. There must be contact and conflict of ideas, that their variations may be sifted out and a residue of superior adaptations preserved. Civilization is a function of numbers and the contact of numbers.<sup>29</sup>

Bagehot has pointed out some of the forces making for such isolation:

The ready formation of custom-making groups in early society must have been greatly helped by the easy divisions of that society . . . migrations were constant, and were necessary. And these migrations were not like those of modern times. . . . There was then no organized means of communication—no practical communication, we may say, between parted members of the same group; those who once went out from the parent society went out forever; they left no abiding remembrance, and they

kept no abiding regard. . . . Separate groups soon "set up house;" the early societies begin a new set of customs, acquire and keep a distinct and special "luck."

If it were not for this facility of new formations, one good or bad custom would long since have "corrupted" the world.<sup>30</sup>

In short, cultural inertia and its closely related mental immobility is not a result of "human nature," but is a result of a particular situation very frequently found among preliterate groups and in the earlier stages of man's history; *this situation is vicinal isolation*.

Further, the type of personality found in an isolated, static culture area is not a cause of cultural inertia, but a result.<sup>31</sup> Habit, custom, and routine dominate everything because no intrusive factors disrupt the orderly sequence of events. When cultures are extremely disorganized in many segments, the force of habit is relatively slight.<sup>32</sup> Modern American urban culture is sufficiently disorganized in some areas to permit of a minimum of traditional and habitual responses, but this mental mobility should not be exaggerated; the willingness of modern civilization to experiment is half-hearted; habit still plays a large part because intrusive

<sup>30</sup> Bagehot, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>31</sup> "The common assumption is that 'racial' factors 'cause' cultural inertia and that the present rapidity of cultural change in the Western world is due to inherent 'Nordic' qualities. This fallacy has been commented upon as follows:

"The growth of a culture that has reached the point of extremely rapid change will, within a definite period of time, say, five hundred years, be immensely greater than the growth, within the same time, of a culture that has not reached the stage of such rapid change. If such a comparison be thought of as a race between two cultures, the one will in the same period of time greatly outdistance the other, which will seem to be left hopelessly behind. The original disparity between two such cultures may have been due to relative degrees of isolation or other cultural factors'" (Ogburn, *op. cit.*, pp. 138-9).

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 177.

<sup>26</sup> La Blache, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-331, italics ours.

<sup>27</sup> Henry Sumner Maine, *Popular Government*, p. 170, italics ours.

<sup>28</sup> Vallaux, *Le Sol et l'État*, p. 68.

<sup>29</sup> Albert Galloway Keller, *Societal Evolution: A Study of the Evolutionary Basis of the Science of Society*, p. 21.

factors affect only particular segments of our complex culture—indeed, a culture must be very simple before a migration, a great natural catastrophe, or a new invention can markedly affect many parts of it.

As Thomas has pointed out, the relatively high degree of disorganization to which intrusive factors expose simple cultures perhaps accounts in part for the hostility to change their bearers so frequently manifest:

When our habits are settled and running smoothly they much resemble the instincts of animals. And the great part of our life is lived in the region of habit. The habits, like the instincts, are safe and serviceable. They have been tried, and they are associated with a feeling of security. There consequently grows up in the folk-mind a determined resistance to change. And there is a degree of sense in this, for while change implies possibilities of improvement it also implies danger of disaster, or a worse condition. It must also be acknowledged that a state of rapid and constant change implies loss of settled habits and disorganization. As a result, all societies view change with suspicion, and the attempt to revise certain habits is even viewed as immorality. Now it is possible under these conditions for a society to become stationary, or to attempt to remain so. The effort of the attention is to preserve the present status rather than to reaccommodate. This condition is particularly marked among the savages. In the absence of science and a proper estimation of the value of change, they rely on ritual and magic, and a minute, conscientious, unquestioning, and absolute adhesion to the past. Change is consequently introduced with a maximum of resistance.<sup>33</sup>

The modern man is seldom or never called upon to make so great and sudden modifications in his way of life, for example, as the introduction of English-woven cotton cloth has imposed upon the natives of India—hence the symbolic power of the *charkal*. Moreover, the economic self-sufficiency of the simple village communities of India helps to maintain their isolation:

India "is more a collection of fragments than an ancient society complete in itself," says Sumner Maine. With the exception of the half-wild settlements surrounding it in Bengal and in the country of the Mahrattas, the Hindu village, typical of the civilisation of the North, is organised so as to be self-supporting, just as if no other existed. An agricultural unit, with its appointed quora of functionaries and artisans, it constitutes an independent microcosm. An analysis of the last census shows that most individuals remain confined to one spot, unless they marry into a neighboring village.<sup>34</sup>

Boas has pointed out that the opposition to change correlated with such isolation often roots in emotional resistance to disturbance of any deep-rooted habit, any automatic reaction—"To witness an act contrary to our automatic behavior excites at once intense attention and the strongest resistances must be overcome if we are required to perform such an action."<sup>35</sup> At any rate the peoples living in such isolated, simple cultures rarely evince any desire for change—they are the examples *par excellence* of mental immobility, as Maine never wearied of insisting:

It is indisputable that much the greatest part of mankind has never shown a particle of desire that its civil institutions should be improved, since the moment when external completeness was first given to them by their embodiment in some permanent record.<sup>36</sup>

Vast populations, some of them with a civilization considerable but peculiar, detest that which in the language of the West would be called reform. The entire Mohammedan world detests it. The multitudes of colored men who swarm in the great continent of Africa detest it; and it is detested by that large part of mankind which we are accustomed to leave on one side as barbarous or savage. The millions of men who fill the Chinese Empire loathe it and (what is

<sup>33</sup> La Blache, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>35</sup> Franz Boas, *Anthropology and Modern Life*, 1st ed., p. 140.

<sup>36</sup> Maine, *Ancient Law* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 3rd American ed. from 5th London ed., 1888), pp. 21-22.

<sup>33</sup> W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, pp. 2-21.

more) despise it. The enormous mass of the Indian population hates and dreads change.<sup>37</sup>

Interpreted in the light of modern theory, and with a few qualifications, then, generalizations about the hampering effect of vicinal isolation seem valid. Now, just how is this effect exerted?

Some recent answers have been about as follows: vicinal isolation is favorable to the development of rigid social control, and when the latter is once established, cultural fixity follows. Recent answers are not the only ones, however; Plato, for example, saw the effect of isolation during his visit to Sparta, and became so enamored of "Dorian" mental immobility in contrast to the mental mobility of "Ionian" Athens that he apotheosized the former in the *Republic*, and in order to maintain it proposed the vicinal and social isolation of the ideal commonwealth. "Come out from among them and be ye separate" seems to have been the slogan governing his speculations. Other less speculative and more active proponents of fixity actually instituted a vigorous policy of isolation for the purpose of preventing change. "A vigorous policy of isolation" perhaps sounds a bit paradoxical to those who believe in man's innate sluggishness, but it is certainly true that the maintenance of tradition, fixity, and isolation involve *activity*; they do not "just happen." Teggart has thus commented upon a related theme:

... it may be well to point out that, in speaking of "fixity" and "persistence," what we mean is that, within a given area, certain activities, that is to say, ways of doing things and modes of thought, have been maintained with recognizable uniformity from age to age. These activities constitute the "culture" of the area in question. It should be observed that the word "culture" is frequently used to designate the sum-total of the acquisitions of any human group, in language, in rites, customs, practices,

material, objects, in ideas. Strictly speaking, however, "culture" signifies the work of cultivation; it means the *activity* through which the products which we assemble in ethnological museums, and which we describe in books, have been brought into existence. Similarly, the word "tradition" is used at times to designate the sum-total of beliefs, opinions, and usages which is handed down from one generation to the next. On the other hand, "tradition" properly means the act of handing down the customs, observances, doctrines of one generation to another. "Custom" and "tradition" are terms, therefore, which refer to *activities*: the doing and thinking from generation to generation. The terms "fixity" and "persistence" do not refer to the objects which we find in museums, or to the rites and beliefs which we find described in the writings of ethnologists; these terms have reference to the activities of men.<sup>38</sup>

An example of such activities in relation to the "vigorous policy of isolation" already mentioned is furnished by George Rapp, founder of the Harmony Society (a religious colony that came to the United States from Germany), who forbade his earlier followers to learn English except for the barest purposes of business, or to journey outside the precincts of the society. Again, the Zoar society, although it never resorted to such rigid regulations, constantly frowned upon contacts with the outside world—a policy which did not prove effective, for such contacts finally had a predominant influence in causing the collapse of the community.<sup>39</sup> The Amana Community, still in existence, has tried to maintain its isolation by becoming an economically and educationally independent group, but this has proved difficult and the pressure of "the world" is threatening to break up the sacred order.<sup>40</sup> The Spartan *xenelasia*, or prohibition of

<sup>38</sup> Frederick John Teggart, *Theory of History*, pp. 189-90.

<sup>39</sup> "A community which has a continual influx of strangers cannot preserve its integrity and sooner or later dissolves itself into a vague and incoherent social body" (Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant*, p. 1202).

<sup>40</sup> Weatherly, *op. cit.*, p. 221.

<sup>37</sup> Maine, *Popular Government*, pp. 132-33.

strangers, probably was due to some such considerations as those which led to the regulations above noted:

"Whoever speaks two languages is a rascal," says the saying, and it rightly represents the feeling of primitive communities when the sudden impact of new thoughts and new examples breaks down the compact despotism of the single consecrated code, and leaves pliant and impressible man—such as he then is—to follow his unpleasant will without distant guidance by hereditary morality and hereditary religion. The old oligarchies wanted to keep their type perfect, and for that end they were right not to allow foreigners to touch it.<sup>41</sup>

In the case of Sparta, however, there were undoubtedly other reasons, e.g., the danger of a slave revolt and of invasion. Vidal de La Blache has commented upon the latter aspect of isolation as follows:

In certain remote countries isolation has become a systematic policy. Those enjoying the benefits of the soil have tried to maintain their isolation by artificial means, for the frontier notion is . . . deeply rooted. . . . This is why the jungle savages of Africa lay snares at approaches to their villages, why mountain tribes such as Circassians (Cherkess), Kurds and Kafirs, intrench themselves in the least accessible places; why even Tibetans have relegated their national holy of holies to the most distant valley.<sup>42</sup>

Even when no such barriers are set up, and when no formal prohibition of strangers exists, there is frequently a general air of dislike, hostility, and even hatred that is unmistakable.<sup>43</sup> It should not be assumed, however, that aversion to strangers is part of "human nature;" in certain situations they may be welcomed as bearers of news, traders, etc.<sup>44</sup> When suspicion and

antipathy are especially evident, it is frequently due to disagreeable past experiences, religious fanaticism, or infraction of the mores by the stranger. This last is probably a fruitful cause of antagonism, for, when a group has followed certain practices for centuries, they are not likely to greet with acclaim the man who calmly disregards the most elementary injunctions of the sacred community—Schiller's words apply:

Denn aus Gemeinem ist der Mensch gemacht  
Und die Gewohnheit nennt er seine Amme.  
Weh' dem, der an den würdig alten Hausrath  
Ihn rührt, das theure Erbstück seiner Ahnen!  
Das Jahr übt eine heiligende Kraft;  
Was grau vor Alter ist, das ist ihm göttlich.<sup>45</sup>

And this is Boas' interpretation of the *heiligende Kraft*:

Intolerance is often, if not always, based on the strength of automatic reactions and upon the feeling of intense displeasure felt in acts opposed to our own automatism. The apparent fanaticism exhibited in the persecution of heretics must be explained in this manner. . . . Its psychological basis was . . . the impossibility of changing a habit of thought that

prompted to take up resolutions, and much addicted to change, considered that nothing was to be intrusted to them; for it is the custom of that people to compel travelers to stop, even against their inclination, and inquire what they may have heard, or may know, respecting any matter; and in towns the common people throng around merchants and force them to state from what countries they come, and what affairs they know of there. They often engage in resolutions concerning the most important matters, induced by these reports and stories alone; of which they must necessarily instantly repent since they yield to mere unauthorized reports; and since most people give to their questions answers framed agreeably to their wishes" (Caesar, *Commentaries*, IV, v).

<sup>45</sup> Friedrich Schiller, *Wallenstein*, "Wallenstein's Tod," I, 4. The following is Coleridge's translation:

For of the wholly common is man made,  
And custom is his nurse! Woe then to them  
Who lay irreverent hands upon his old  
House furniture, the dear inheritance  
From his forefathers! For time consecrates;  
And what is grey with age becomes religion.

<sup>41</sup> Bagehot, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>42</sup> La Blache, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

<sup>43</sup> ". . . In the ancient Aryan language the words for enemy and stranger, for example, *zenos*, *hostis*, were the same; whilst *sibja*, *sippa*, meant equally clan and peace" (F. Müller-Lyer, as quoted in Davis and Barnes, *op. cit.*, p. 38).

<sup>44</sup> "Caesar, when informed of these matters, fearing the fickle disposition of the Gauls, who are easily



had become automatic and the consequent impossibility of following new lines of thought, which, for this very reason, seemed anti-social; that is, criminal.<sup>46</sup>

From what we know of the multiplicity of taboos and restrictions governing every detail of the institutional life of many preliterate groups,<sup>47</sup> it is easy to see how even the most amiable of strangers might commit sacrilege every time he turned around; only a long course of training from some preliterate friend combining the abilities of Emily Post and Cardinal Hayes could save him from the deadly social-religious blunder, as Malinowski implicitly indicates:

It is a very far cry from the famous answer given long ago by a representative authority who, asked what are the manners and customs of the natives, answered, 'Customs none, manners beastly,' to the position of the modern Ethnographer! This latter, with his tables of kinship terms, genealogies, maps, plans, and diagrams, proves an extensive and big organization, shows the constitution of the tribe, of the clan, of the family; and he gives us a picture of the natives subjected to a strict code of behaviour and good manners, to which in comparison the life at the Court of Versailles or Escorial was free and easy.<sup>48</sup>

A further corroboration of the thesis that the aversion is not to the stranger as such, but to the stranger offending against the folkways and mores of the in-group, is found in the fact that social control also

weighs heavily upon the occasional local deviate who has the itch for innovation<sup>49</sup> and not merely upon the stranger.<sup>50</sup> New found that among the Wanika a villager who improved the style of his hut, who made a larger doorway than ordinary, who wore a finer or different dress than his fellows, was instantly fined; Tylor has made classical the case of the Dyaks who were heavily fined for felling trees by V-shaped cuttings in the European fashion instead of the much less efficient method sanctified by custom; the tremendous conservative influence of religious practices in ancient Greek and Roman society is the theme of Fustel de Coulanges' *La Cité antique*; and Keane refers to conservative cannibals in Africa who argued that the abolition of the custom of killing and eating enemies would ruin the State. These instances, cited by Cowan,<sup>51</sup> might be multiplied *ad nauseam*.

Indeed, there is at present a vast mass of scientific opinion in support of the general theses that vicinal isolation facilitates the crystallization of agencies of control, that it is one of the most important means of maintaining social stability and mental immobility, and that it is frequently correlated with marked aversion to intruders. Were we to say much more on these points we should simply be retailing the ordinary stock-in-trade of every sociologist—if we have not already done so!

<sup>46</sup> Boas, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-57.

<sup>47</sup> "The imaginary barbarian—the man who fights and kills at his mere caprice—existed no more than the 'blood-thirsty' savage. The real barbarian was living, on the contrary, under a wide series of institutions, imbued with considerations as to what may be useful or noxious to his tribe or confederation, and these institutions were piously handed down from generation to generation in verses and songs, in proverbs or triads, in sentences and instructions. The more we study them the more we recognize the narrow bonds which united men in their villages" (Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, as quoted in Sims, *The Village Community*, p. 25).

<sup>48</sup> Malinowski, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

<sup>49</sup> "Any conspicuous digression on the part of the individual from the set norm of thought and action, is resented and repressed not merely as a breach of custom, but as a flagrant violation of the very essence of the group culture, as an unnatural act" (Alexander A. Goldenweiser, *Early Civilization*, pp. 401-05).

<sup>50</sup> "Any action that differs from those performed by us habitually strikes us immediately as ridiculous or objectionable, according to the emotional tone that accompanies it. Often deviations from automatic actions are strongly resented" (Boas, *op. cit.*, p. 154).

<sup>51</sup> A. G. Cowan, *Master-Clues in World-History*, p. 227 ff.

# SOCIOLOGY IN ENGLAND

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## I

INDOCTRINATED as a student with the teachings of Walter Bagehot, Herbert Spencer, and the late Graham Wallas, and stimulated as a teacher by the works of Hobhouse and Westermarck, the writer had long been accustomed to regard England as a land flowing with the milk and honey of sociology. Observations made recently, however, served to modify if not to shatter this faith. Modern scientific and academic sociology was discovered to be in a rather undeveloped and even moribund condition. It was a distinct shock to learn that only a single chair of sociology existed in the universities of Great Britain. The professional association seemed below par and its journal certainly not up to the standard of the earlier *Sociological Papers*. Some work was being done along the line of local studies, but on the side of theory, research, and teaching, sociology in England appeared definitely weak. Perhaps it would be fairer and more exact to say that it appeared to be rare.

After several months spent in visiting classes, reading publications, and consulting teachers, officials of the "Institute," and others, the following conclusions were reached. First, that "official" sociology in England at the present moment is largely non-academic. Further, that most of the writing labelled sociological during recent years has been of a general philosophical and individualized type rather than scientific, and that professional interest has centered largely in practical applications, non-technical local community investigations, and training institutes. Secondly, in so far as it is academic, with

the single exception of the London School of Economics where there has been a steady development, sociology is not to be found as such but only in the institutional disguise of "social science" (social work), or in such related departments as anthropology, ethics, political science and philosophy. A brief review of the backgrounds of sociology in England, of the beginnings of academic development, its present university status, and of the history of professional organization will perhaps make these contentions clearer.

## II

When we recall that many of the roots of American sociology lie in British soil it seems strange that the plant has not flourished there as it has in this country. Going back to the pre-evolutionary period we find Buckle advancing ideas which though now largely discarded did influence sociological thought for a time. In his *History of Civilization* (1857) he pointed out the increasing influence of mental factors in human development concomitant with a decrease in the power of the physical environment, though he still perhaps overstated the importance of climate. Furthermore, in an over-ambitious fashion he attempted to describe social phenomena in statistical and physical terms. In this same period John Stuart Mill produced a book on Comte, and even proposed a new science of character which he called "ethology." Other pre-Spencerian writers of more or less significance for the history of sociology were Hume,<sup>1</sup> Adam

<sup>1</sup> *Treatise on Human Nature*, 1739, *Philosophical Essays*, 1741-48, and *Political Discourses*, 1751.

Smith,<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Maine,<sup>3</sup> John Ferguson McLennan,<sup>4</sup> and Lecky.<sup>5</sup>

Although Darwin possessed certain ideas that might be termed sociological it was left to Herbert Spencer to attempt the formulation of a general theory of social life in terms of the evolutionary hypothesis. It is most important for this discussion that Spencer was not an academic person. Instead he was a poor engineer, and was never accepted by the university group in England where his influence was far less than in America. Again, he failed to realize the extent to which he was biased by his individualistic and anarchistic politics. For Spencer sociology was merely a part of a larger system of thought in developing which he employed both inductive and deductive methods, analyzing anthropological as well as biological data. He was guided not only by evolutionary theories but by certain other conceptions, such as that of the struggle between groups. We owe to Spencer, moreover, the introduction into the English language of the term "sociology," itself a mixture of Latin and Greek.

Following Spencer all attempts at building up a comprehensive sociology were abandoned. In its place we note an interest in applied studies dealing with social problems, or else in specialties related to sociology, such as anthropology. Eugenics was born, and Darwinian theories of evolution instead of Spencerian prevailed. Although Hobhouse in England and Ward in America attacked the narrow, biological conceptions that became dominant, no general sociological system was proposed. The nearest approach perhaps is to be seen in the social

philosophy of such men as T. H. Green and Bosanquet.

### III

Thus it is seen that the non-academic status of Spencer, and an over-emphasis upon a myopic evolutionary point of view were perhaps influential in hampering the début of sociology as a recognized subject in the universities of England. When its appearance is presently described it will be seen to have been prejudiced by the presence of the more mature and yet closely related disciplines of ethnology, comparative ethics, and comparative psychology. The very fact of the vested interests represented by these established departments made it harder for the newer study of social life to gain a foothold.

By the school year of 1903-4 short lecture courses were being given at the London School of Economics by Westermarck, Hobhouse, and others. The following year Westermarck was appointed University Lecturer in sociology for a period of three years. Then providentially a Scottish financial midwife in the person of Martin White, a merchant and member of Parliament, appeared and assisted at the birth of the department. In 1906 he endowed a chair in sociology and the following year Hobhouse received the appointment. Simultaneously Mr. White established also a five-year lectureship for Westermarck in the same institution. At this time Westermarck was also professor of moral Philosophy in the University of Helsingfors, to which institution he has since withdrawn. The emerging distinction between sociology and anthropology, with which both Hobhouse and his colleague were concerned, was fostered by the appointment, but without endowment, of Haddon, as professor of ethnology.

Professor Leonard Trelawney Hobhouse

<sup>2</sup> *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, 1759, and *The Wealth of Nations*, 1776.

<sup>3</sup> *Ancient Law*, 1861.

<sup>4</sup> *Primitive Marriage*, 1865.

<sup>5</sup> *History of European Morals*, 1869.

began his career as a student of philosophy at Oxford in revolt against the current Hegelianism. Idealism did not serve to explain Evil, he felt, and so he began to develop a sort of rational empiricism and became the founder of English realism. In his search for facts he first studied animal behavior and did much to establish comparative psychology in Great Britain. Out of this work came his *Mind in Evolution* (1901). Next he turned to the investigation of primitive man and analyzed a great deal of anthropological data, thus illustrating a technique still considered sound. In 1906 he published *Morals in Evolution*, which Professor Ginsberg aptly terms a "broad study of human evolution in terms of psychology and anthropology."<sup>6</sup> In this book he attempted a morphology of social institutions, based upon anthropological data, suggested methods for correlating various aspects of social change, analyzed the psychological, biological, and especially the social conditions of development, and proposed finally, the hypothesis of correlation between social progress as thus measured and the growth of mind. He concluded that there had been an evolution in social institutions under the guidance of social mentality; he affirmed his belief in this "rational good" and in the reality of progress, but insisted at the same time that such evolution was not automatic. Evil is real, he thought, and there are limitations to human development. The mechanisms which hinder and hamper teleological and spiritual forces may, however, be overcome by social coördination and intelligence, and

the job of the sociologist is therefore to study institutions and relate them to the growth of the human mind. Despite this philosophical cast Hobhouse's work is not mere speculation: he fed on factual material which he digested with the aid of brilliant hypotheses.

Edward Westermarck, the outstanding contemporary and colleague of Hobhouse until the latter's death, was not, of course, an Englishman. Yet he wrote in English and was identified in a part-time capacity with the London School of Economics from 1903 to 1929. He may, therefore, very properly be considered as among the founders of British sociology. Unlike Hobhouse he was not a rationalist, and was dominated by Darwinism. His *Origin and Development of Moral Ideas* was contemporary with Hobhouse's work but independent of it. Similar conclusions were reached in the two studies but different methods were employed.

Westermarck constructed no systematic sociology. For him, too, it was essentially a study of social institutions. He finds the "causes" of institutions in the underlying psychological motives which are perpetuated by the survival value of the institution in question, which are simply forms of social relationships regulated and sanctioned by society. "Society" in turn is a grouping characterized by more or less coöperation, not necessarily involving physical proximity. He discovers the origin of this coöperation in the parental impulses and in the mutual endeavors of primitive man in food-getting and other communal activities. In connection with marriage he did some very early pioneer work (1891) and exhibited extraordinarily good common sense. He was among the first to attack the so-called evidence in favor of promiscuity and group marriage, arguing that the alleged cases were really fraternal polyandry or polyg-

<sup>6</sup> J. A. Hobson and M. Ginsberg, *L. T. Hobhouse: His Life and Works*, London, 1931, pp. 123-77. (See also, M. Ginsberg, "Obituary: Prof. L. T. Hobhouse," *Nature*, 104: 153-54, July 27th, 1929.) The writer is indebted to Professor Ginsberg for much of the interpretation herein given of the work of Spencer, Hobhouse, and Westermarck.



amy. Briffault, who assaulted Westermarck's position in a rather emotional manner, apparently believed the latter had theological reasons for supporting the monogamous family. As Westermarck, however, frequently criticized religion and the church there seems to be no good basis for this assumption.

The "regulation" to which institutions are subjected is to be found in custom and law, while "sanctions" are constituted by public approval and disapproval, and involve "moral" emotions. Such approval or disapproval is a matter of ascertainable fact in each society. But enlightenment may alter the nature of moral or "retributive" emotion. We may indeed feel, Westermarck agrees, that a certain act is, or is not, a "proper object of resentment," i.e., is, or is not, unreasonable. This admission practically destroys his theory of strict empiricism and leads to a rationalistic ethic.

Upon the death of Hobhouse in June 1929 and the retirement of Westermarck from England in the same year, Dr. Morris Ginsberg was appointed Martin White Professor of Sociology in the University of London. As it had already become necessary for the University to supplement the original grant no additional lecturer was provided. Professor Ginsberg had been closely associated with both the older sociologists and their mantles fell most properly upon him. His works, which illustrate his range of interest, include a *Psychology of Society*, published in 1921, *Dialogues on Metaphysics*, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* (with Wheeler and Hobhouse), and recently in collaboration with J. A. Hobson, *L. T. Hobhouse: His Life and Works*.

The influence of Hobhouse is seen in Ginsberg's definition of sociology, in 1927, as "the science of social institutions . . . or the science dealing with the forms or

modes of social relationships as they are exhibited in the civilization or culture of a people."<sup>7</sup> He goes on to say that, in distinguishing it from the special social sciences, sociology may be viewed as primarily concerned with either the *form* of social relationships, or their *content*. He criticises Simmel's conception of sociology as a specialty aiming at the discovery of the "ultimate forms of social relationships," as involving an overemphasis upon form. There is danger, he thinks, in sociology assuming an identity of content with the special social sciences and in being satisfied in dealing with such material in a characteristic way, i.e. in terms of such concepts or principles as "competition," for example. If however, some attention is paid to collecting its own typical data, as well as to subjecting social data in general to sociological analysis, this would constitute a fruitful method.

For his own part he apparently prefers to attempt the definition of sociology by reference to distinctive content. He feels that a general science is needed to correct the special social sciences, and thus sociology may be defined as "the science which deals with social life as a whole in contradistinction to the special sciences which deal with special aspects of human life."<sup>8</sup> He argues in favor of a synthetic view of the subject as one which utilizes the more specialized sciences but interprets their results in the light of the "broader principles of social organization which often escape the specialist." But, such an interpretation must be one of social life as a whole and not a mere summary of the findings of the other sciences, and must furnish generalizations which they either do not or are unable to make. Thus in a sense ethnology and political science, to

<sup>7</sup> "The Scope of Sociology," *Economica*, 7: 135-49, June 1927, and unpublished lectures.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 139.

choose two examples, may be regarded as specialisms within the broader sociological field. Specifically the objectives of sociology are: 1. To determine the nature of the various social groupings and trace their development; 2. to determine by comparative method and quantitative measurement, as far as possible, interrelations between institutions; 3. to formulate empirical laws; and 4. to interpret these laws in the light of the more ultimate principles of life and mind, and discover the relation of social facts to civilization as a whole, primitive and modern.

Americans would probably regard Ginsberg's approach as essentially philosophical. That it is not of the arm-chair variety, however, is clearly indicated in his use of factual material, especially of anthropological data. Furthermore, there is a distinct psychological emphasis running through all his work, and it is interesting to note in passing that he is quite skeptical of the doctrine of instincts which is still current among British psychologists, many of whom continue to bend the knee to McDougall. In Professor Ginsberg's inaugural address in 1930 he condemned the theory as misleading, and insisted that a restatement was necessary in terms perhaps of Hobhouse's conception of "root interests," or "basic needs."<sup>9</sup>

In the very catholicity and comprehensiveness of such a conception of sociology lies, perhaps, one of the explanations why it has failed to expand as an academic subject in England. Minimizing rather than accentuating its differences from the older sciences and concentrating on its more philosophic and integrative functions it has not succeeded in gaining for itself any wide acceptance as a distinct scientific technique.

Although work labeled sociology is

<sup>9</sup> "The Place of Instinct in Social Theory," *Economica*, Feb. 1931, pp. 25-44.

offered in only one English university, courses related to this subject or containing similar material are found in two connections. Under the head of "social science," or "social study," which apparently means social technology or applied sociology and included social work training courses, one discovers much that might well pass as sociology in America. Such departments exist not only at the School of Economics but at the universities of Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, and Glasgow. At the former, Carr-Saunders is professor of social science. Although starting his career as a biologist he has become internationally known for his population studies and is regarded as a sociologist in England. C. De Lisle Burns, too, at the University of Glasgow, teaches courses in "citizenship" which include much material of an applied sociological nature.

In a second connection the visiting student may find the sociological approach and method as well as familiar materials, and that is, in related "pure" social science departments. At Oxford, for instance, there are sociologically significant courses offered under the head of political science and anthropology. The same thing is true at the University of London. The union of sociology and economics still quite common in this country, is not however, observed in England. In still other institutions comparative ethics, comparative and social psychology, anthropology, social theory and philosophy have incorporated elements of sociology which, in a country where the latter enjoyed a more autonomous existence, would be separately organized. It is interesting, too, that the first course to be given in criminology as such in Great Britain was offered in the "Social Science and Administration Department" at the School of Economics in the spring of 1932. As for ecology it can hardly be said to have made its debut

in England, though much that we would label ecological may be found in departments of social geography as that, for example, at the University College in Exeter.

The London School of Economics and Political Science, a branch of that omnivorous educational trust, the University of London, is the only institution in England possessing a Department of Sociology. The staff includes the Martin White Professor, Morris Ginsberg, a reader, and an assistant lecturer. One finds approximately thirty "majors" working in the department in any one year. Sociology may be elected in the last two of the three years of the undergraduate course (B.A. and B.Sc. in Economics), and from 50 to 60 per cent of the candidate's entire work may be in sociology. In addition to introductory lectures, honours courses, and graduate seminars, classes are given in "Comparative Social Institutions," "Comparative Economic Institutions," "Social Psychology," "Ethics and Social Philosophy," "Comparative Religion," "The Family," "Social Developments in Modern England," and "Recent British Contributions to Sociology and Social Psychology." One notes with interest that whereas the instinct theories of McDougall are still revered and taught in other courses, where a number of his former students preside, the case is quite otherwise in the sociology department.

Two types of instruction are followed: the lecture and the seminar. In the former an hour of unrelieved or "straight" lecturing, intended to orient and stimulate the student to do his own reading, is usually followed by an hour or less of discussion under the direction of the same professor. Seminars are given to both graduates and undergraduates, and consist of the conventional criticism and discussion of papers presented by members of the

group. There are no general courses using the combination lecture-report-discussion method so common with us. Students undertake no "projects" and do no "field work" or like *fol de rol*. In fact student participation during the time of the class is limited to note-taking, joining in the post-lecture questioning, and reading papers in the seminars. The entire lack of "assignments" would delight the heart of the American undergraduate.

There is nothing in the teaching procedure that approaches the "laboratory method" recently introduced in the States in connection with so-called courses in "experimental sociology," or with field studies in ecology. Quizzes and examinations are infrequent though more common here than in other British universities. The transferable "unit" of credit is of course unknown. It should be noted, however, that in the department of anthropology, which is separately organized, Professor Malinowski has been experimenting with the small, interrupted-by-discussion class.

#### IV

Turning next to the official organization of sociology in England we may infer that its limited growth in comparison with similar organizations in other scientific fields is connected with the immature university status of the subject. Naturally, therefore, the professional organization that exists is to a large extent non-academic in its nature. In 1904, when Westermarck and Hobhouse first began to give courses at the School of Economics, the Sociological Society was founded. Under the auspices of this association the *Sociological Papers*, containing high-grade, scholarly articles by representative men were published. The *Papers* were discontinued in 1906 with the founding of the *Sociological Review*. Sociologists in Great

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Britain with whom this problem was discussed agreed that there has been a steady deterioration in the character of the contributions to the *Review*, and it was not considered worthy of the best English sociological scholarship today.

The fate of the *Review* is apparently tied up with the organization of another sociological venture of a different sort, the Le Play House. This institution was founded by Mr. and Mrs. Victor Branford and financed largely by them. The purpose of Le Play House was the very laudable one of developing the practical applications of the current theoretical type of sociology. In line with this, objective community surveys, of a more or less superficial sort, were undertaken, and in 1924, a journal called *Observation* was launched. It was to be a magazine devoted to description of "people, activities and places," but survived only six years, the last number appearing in March 1930. During the latter part of the decade, 1920-1930, Le Play House leaders came to dominate the policy of the *Review* with a narrowing result. The somewhat individualized social philosophy of Mr. Branford found a medium of expression here at the sacrifice perhaps of the earlier and more representative character of the journal. The outcome was that the arm-chair and non-academic nature of this type of sociology became more and more apparent, despite the interest in local surveys.

With the death of Mr. Branford two years ago, the Sociological Society and Le Play House were merged to form the present "Institute of Sociology." The election of Professor R. R. Marett as a recent president symbolized the intention to draw in the anthropological and other social science interests. Publication of the Society's *Review* was continued by the Institute as well as the practical work of Play House, the name of which was retained in the joint title.

A contrasting policy to that of the American Sociological Society is seen in the considerable number of community surveys which have been made and in connection with which training classes for the local workers are set up in the various localities. In addition to the annual meeting of the Institute, summer conferences are held, and several series of monthly discussion meetings are being promoted. The last annual session, held in January, 1932, centered around the topic of "The Family." Both practical and theoretical aspects received attention, and numerous specimens of the "Civic and Regional Surveys" were exhibited. During the following spring and summer the monthly discussion meetings were also devoted to this subject. A special group was formed in connection with the London arrangements for studies preparatory to the Second International Conference on Social Work. In coöperation with the British National Committee for the International Conference, the Institute published a number of bulletins dealing with various phases of family social work in Great Britain.

The liaison of the Institute of Sociology with social work is clearly evident in these activities. Both in this and in other connections the interest and participation of many scholars and social workers are elicited, to a greater extent, in fact than the Institute membership of nearly five hundred would indicate.

## V

We have seen that academic sociology as such does not exist in England apart from the University of London. It has been noted further that the official organization is primarily concerned with its own brand of sociology on the one hand, with practical applications and social work problems, on the other. What of the



future? The sociologists of the London School of Economics are particularly concerned with the fate of the journal, and it is no breach of confidence to state now that plans are under way for a drastic modification of the policy of the *Review*. Under the leadership of such men as Professor Ginsberg and Mr. Alexander Farquharson, a leading spirit of the Institute, an attempt will be made as soon as the financial status of the organization is adjusted to reestablish a thoroughly scholarly and scientific journal with a large and representative staff of editors and contributors.

The controversy between the two groups in the Institute—the one favoring the application of sociology to immediate and local social problems, and the other which insists upon a more theoretical and “pure” type of science—is interesting to American

sociologists since it suggests an ever-present problem facing our own Society. It is easy to understand the development of this practical interest in England. In the absence of leadership that might have been expected from strong departments in numerous institutions, and in the presence of the challenging problems of the post-war period the policy adopted was inevitable.

It would seem, finally, that the way out lies in the old formula of “both-and,” rather than, “either-or.” With a journal revamped under the guidance of an increasing number of scientific sociologists, whatever their academic titles, *plus* the local community surveys, training classes, and social work institutes centering at Le Play House, there is indeed much to anticipate from sociology in England.

## VOLUNTARY SOCIAL SERVICES IN LONDON SCHOOLS

ROBERT E. CHADDOCK

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I  
THE educational system of a community offers the greatest opportunity for social meliorism. Whenever a defect or maladjustment exists in the home environment the effect upon the child may be observed when it enters school, if not before. The development of children may be adversely influenced by neglect, poverty or ignorance; by physical surroundings, or by hereditary taint; but, whatever the cause may be, the early signs of injury are to be seen at school.

The school, therefore, enlists and stimulates the coöperation of all agencies which exist for the betterment of home conditions, for the removal of preventable

handicaps, and for the mitigation of the results of uncontrolled causes affecting the welfare of children. The school must be concerned with the effects of environmental influences upon the child because his bodily and mental fitness to benefit by instruction conditions the effectiveness of the educational system itself. The school is concerned with provision for the special needs of individual children, and with the social conditions that surround the child apart from the school. In this wide domain of education there is scope and great need for the assistance of voluntary organizations and individual workers, coöperating with the officials of State and Municipality.

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The ideals of school hygiene have been approached along very different lines in different cities and countries. Sweden has led in physical training; France furnished the example of her "Cantines Scholaires;" Wiesbaden organized the first complete model of medical inspection of schools; Strassburg gave the first school dental service; Charlottenburg showed the way of the open-air school; London founded the first schools for cripples and for sight-saving; the United States led in the organization of nutrition classes and child guidance clinics; and England has evolved the most comprehensive plan of medical inspection and treatment of school children strictly applied and enforced throughout the urban and rural districts of an entire country.

Medical inspection is merely a technical organization to explore and unveil the condition of each child in order that treatment of defects may follow with a correct regard for the facts of the individual case. The test of such an arrangement is what is done for the child who is found to be defective or maladjusted, and what is done to prevent the recurrence of defects and maladjustments. The real problem is that of getting something done about the health of school children.

## II

The distinguishing characteristic of the organization of school hygiene in the London elementary schools is that it is *an official system on a voluntary basis*.<sup>1</sup> It is the purpose of this paper to explain how this

<sup>1</sup> The writer acknowledges with deep appreciation his obligation to Dr. C. J. Thomas, M.B., B.Sc., D.P.H., Senior Medical Officer, London County Council, in charge of school medical inspection, for his courtesy in making possible observation of the inspection service and follow-up work in operation, and for his generous assistance in understanding the organization. The writer has utilized also the report by Dr. Thomas, "Social and Health Work in Schools."

plan operates. Many municipal services have begun as voluntary efforts and have been taken over later by the public authority. A bureaucratic organization often has little patience with volunteer workers; and, on their part, voluntary assistants are frequently idealists who are unable to compromise, and who refuse to accept the practicable in their enthusiasm for an ideal not yet attainable. In most places, moreover, where voluntary agencies flourish they work side by side with official institutions, avoiding friction by mutual agreement as to spheres of activity.

It is a very human business to achieve health, and medical science alone is not equal to the task. A purely bureaucratic system may work efficiently but it tends to become a machine; it lacks spontaneity and may lack essential human qualities. The criticism is often heard that it has a brain but no heart. This type of organization loses by refusing the aid of the voluntary worker and the voluntary association. The London School Authority, under the County Council, has attempted to incorporate voluntary services into an official plan and to weave the two together. Reliance is placed on voluntary assistance in carrying out treatment, after school doctors and nurses have discovered defects. The system has become an active, human organization in which officials and technical staff join hands with children, parents, local citizens, and private organizations *in doing something about the health of school children*. Since localities in a city differ so widely in environmental and social conditions, health is a neighborhood problem of first importance.

The laws of 1907 and 1908 made the education authority responsible for feeding needy school children, for medical inspection, and for providing treatment for those found defective. This education authority for the city of London is part of the organi-

zation of the London County Council. Therefore, school hygiene in the elementary schools is under the direction of the Education Officer and the County Medical Officer of Health. The Council found that voluntary agencies were already doing much of the work required by the laws of 1907 and 1908. It was decided not to supersede these agencies but only to act as an organizing and coördinating authority; and, where insufficient provision was found, to attempt to induce private agencies to fill the gaps. The direction of these social services was placed in the hands of the Central Children's Care Subcommittee of the Education Committee of the Council.

In practically every school under the education authority, a voluntary, local School Care Committee has been organized. The following up of children in the elementary schools found to be defective at medical inspections and the physical care of the children is entrusted by the Council generally to this local, voluntary committee. In 1929<sup>2</sup> these care committees numbered 934, with 5,905 voluntary workers in active membership. The paid staff of the care organization includes, besides the central administration, 12 district organizers, 5 divisional treatment organizers, and 122 assistant organizers. The almost 6000 voluntary workers are directed by this corps of trained organizers who are salaried employees of the Council. The organizers are trained in social science and hold degrees or diplomas from various universities and training schools. They train the new volunteers and are active in advising, assisting, and supplementing the local school care committees.

The City of London is divided into 12 educational districts, with a district or-

ganizer in charge of each who directs the social services of the schools in her district. Besides, she maintains a bureau for mutual exchange of information with all voluntary and official social services operating in her district, in other spheres of service than the schools, e.g. National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Invalid Children's Aid Association, the Poor Law Guardians, the Tuberculosis Care Committees, the Children's Country Holiday Fund, etc. The entire care organization is in charge of a Principal Organizer, who attends meetings of the Central Care Committee and reports to the two chief officers of the Council concerned with this work, the Educational Officer, on general care matters, and the Chief Medical Officer in matters of medical care.

### III

The local School Care Committees are responsible to the Council for the whole social service work of the schools in their respective neighborhoods. In order to assure close coöperation with the medical inspection staff one of the children's care workers attends each inspection. There she sees the school physician at work and ascertains fully his views on each child examined.

The writer attended a morning inspection at an elementary school in June, 1930. There were present, in a room in the school devoted to the purpose, a woman school doctor, the school nurse, the head mistress of the school, a volunteer representative of the Care Committee for that school, and, in most cases, the mothers of the children under examination. The usual routine of medical examination proceeded under the doctor's sympathetic control. As each child was examined and the facts were recorded by the nurse, the volunteer worker, who had been doing this type of work for several years, made her own

<sup>2</sup> Annual Report of the Council, 1929, Vol. III, Public Health, London County Council, P. S. King and Son, 1930.

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record for the subsequent use of the members of her care committee in their follow-up work. She found an opportunity for a friendly talk about their children with some of the mothers before they left the school. In any case, when the inspection was over and some twenty children had been examined, the care committee representative was prepared to take up her part of the work of following up the defective children.

The volunteer members of the local care committee visit mothers who can not attend inspection with their children; follow up the defective children and persuade parents to send them to dental clinic or to hospital for treatment; distribute "attendance vouchers" which entitle the child to the necessary treatment at hospitals or at health centres; and assess the amounts to be paid by parents toward the cost of treatments or approve free treatment when needed and deserved. They also decide which children should be fed at school, how much parents should pay, and which cases should be fed free of cost. They are able to make these decisions only after becoming familiar with the home environment in friendly contact with parents and children. In this work every effort is made to preserve and to increase parental responsibility. To this end, material assistance is paid for according to ability, and care is taken not to undermine parental obligation.

At all hospitals and centres where school children are treated, organizers belonging to the social care services of the schools are present for the purpose of checking and regulating the visits of defective children. These organizers inform the local school care committee of failures to attend, which enables the care committee to take the action necessary to secure regular attendance for treatments as arranged. They also inform the care committee when the

child is discharged from treatments, and, more important, they convey to the local committee the advice of the doctor in regard to action which should be taken at home. The voluntary social service in this manner coöperates to remove environmental defects in the home itself. Efforts are made to improve home conditions in order to prevent the recurrence of sickness.

Another service by the local care committees is the arrangement of country visits for the convalescence of sick children. They assist the parents to provide the necessary clothing, etc., to make it possible for their children to attend special schools in the country or at the seaside, or to be cared for at tuberculosis sanatoria. These committees are interested in the discovery and transfer of children requiring special schools, for the mentally defective, epileptic, crippled, blind, deaf, for those with speech defects, and for those predisposed to tuberculosis.

#### IV

About 300,000 defective school children are given treatment each year. For this the Council has organized a comprehensive scheme, insisting that the medical and surgical services provided outside the schools shall be on a voluntary basis, paid for by the Council in accordance with the amount of service rendered. To provide for prompt and certain treatment, the great general and special hospitals of the city were first approached. Sixteen of these have entered agreements with the Council for the treatment of children recommended by the school doctors, receiving payment according to the number of treatments. In addition, close association has been arranged with a number of other hospitals.

Since more facilities were required for dental treatment and for eye, ear, nose,



throat, etc., the Council next approached the medical practitioners in the different districts of the city. The physicians agreed to band themselves together and to provide treatment centres for school children in different localities, which the doctors themselves manage, receiving public grants at the start to assist in equipping the centres, and annual grants from the Council to maintain them. At present there are over 70 such centres voluntarily provided and managed at which 120,000 children annually receive dental service; 15,000 attend the ear, nose and throat departments, and over 30,000 have spectacles prescribed, the cost of which, when the parents cannot pay, is met by voluntary agencies. Besides, in these centres about 90,000 children annually are treated for minor ailments.

In some districts philanthropic persons have provided treatment centres on similar terms, under the general supervision of the Council. The Highgate New Town Clinic, one of the most complete centres in London, was founded by private gift. Mr. and Mrs. Kohnstamm presented it to the local community in memory of their two sons, both officers, lost in the War. It is under the supervision of the Council and offers opportunity for local participation in support through two types of membership, with annual dues of 5 shillings and 21 shillings respectively. School treatments and follow-up work for the community are organized in the clinic. In addition to the services for eye, ear, dental and minor ailment cases, a fully equipped theatre has been provided for operating upon cases of enlarged tonsils and adenoids. A special feature of the clinic is wards with 20 beds to permit the children to be kept for two nights following operations on tonsils. Other centres are providing a similar service in different sections of the city. There are about 14,000 at-

tendances annually, for all purposes, at the New Town Clinic.

## V

The voluntary care committee performs a final service for the child about to leave the elementary school and to enter employment at the age of 14 or 15 years. A School Leaving Conference is arranged at the school for the pupils of that school about to enter industry. Here all the agencies concerned with the child's future can meet together in a friendly manner around a table in conference with the child who is usually accompanied by at least one parent. The writer attended such a conference at which the Parish Priest presided and a County Council organizer acted as Secretary. Around the table were grouped the head master of the school who presented to the conference, immediately before he was called for interview, each pupil's scholastic standing and the record of his final medical examination; a representative of one of the Council's continuation schools who was able to explain the type of continued education appropriate to each pupil; and a representative of the Juvenile Advisory Committee of the Labor Exchange, to give advice on opportunities for employment in various lines of work.

Before this group was laid a resumé of the child's school history, his physical and mental characteristics, and the care committee's notes on home conditions. The object of the conference was to discuss with each child and his parents, in as informal and helpful a manner as possible and giving due respect to the preferences of both parent and child, the kind of work for which the pupil was best suited and how it was to be obtained; the type of continued education desirable; his recreation and the way he might obtain help from different organizations.

The pupils appeared one at a time as called, usually accompanied by the mother. The priest knew them as members of his parish and sought to put them at ease by a kindly greeting. In each case both parent and child were asked to state freely their preference of employment. The last health examination record was consulted, since a boy with a weak heart should not be placed at heavy manual labor, nor a girl with weak eyes at work demanding close application in artificial light. The head master discussed the capability of each pupil for the type of work suggested. For example, a boy appeared who wished to become a printer but it was noted that tuberculosis was present in his family. He was advised against the trade and the conference offered to help him find work in some other trade less dangerous to his health. A girl wished to become a machine operator in the garment trades. Her own eyes were defective and her mother was not present because of blindness. The conference urged that the suggested trade would be injurious to the girl and agreed to confer with the mother and try to find work for the daughter. The representative of the Labor Exchange knew thoroughly the labor market in all parts of the city and in various trades. The atmosphere of the conference was exceedingly human; the advice was kindly, positive, and intelligent; the conduct of the proceedings was deliberate and busi-

ness-like. Records were made of the recommendations of the conference in each case, and both pupils and parents were given specific directions for following suggestions. The care committees are free to decide how far they can keep in touch with pupils after they leave school. At least the young worker is given a favorable introduction into his first job.

## VI

The results of this comprehensive system for the care of school children in London have worked and are working a revolution in the condition of children. According to the testimony of school officials the sense of parental responsibility has been greatly strengthened. The system seems to be a great coördinated enterprise to get things done in reference to the health of school children.

The reports of the care committees comment frequently on the growing appreciation of the parents as shown by their action after medical inspections. "The parents are eager for treatment, an attitude that speaks wonders for the work of the school doctors, nurses, teachers and care committee visitors." Comment is made also on "the surprisingly few applications for remission of medical charges." In the medical work "the members of care committees achieve wonderful results. Gradually they are winning the parents on to the side of health and hygiene."

See *Five Years of "Planning" Literature*, by Evelyn C. Brooks and Lee M. Brooks, in *LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP*, pp. 430-465, in this number of *SOCIAL FORCES*.

## TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### A RECLASSIFICATION OF URBAN-RURAL POPULATION

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PREVIOUS classifications of the population of the United States as urban or rural have been unsatisfactory because of the inadequacy of census categories. Up to 1920, "urban" included only those within the corporate limits of incorporated places with over 2,500 population, and all other population was

than 2,500. It was possible to deduct this village population by computation but here again the classification was faulty because purely agricultural villages were not separated from incorporated places which were adjacent to and really a part of large cities.

In 1920 a step was taken toward more exact classification by the separation of the rural farm from the rural non-farm population, the latter category including suburban and village population. But the rural non-farm category was still inclusive of all classes between the open country and the city of 2,500. The dwellers in fashionable Peachtree Road were classed with those in crossroads hamlets.

The publication of fairly complete metropolitan<sup>1</sup> statistics for the census of

<sup>1</sup> *Metropolitan Districts, Fifteenth Census of the U. S., 1930, p. 5.*

"The metropolitan districts of the census of 1930, . . . include, in addition to the central city or cities, all adjacent and contiguous civil divisions having a density of not less than 150 inhabitants per square mile, and also, as a rule, those civil divisions of less density that are directly contiguous to the central cities, or are entirely or nearly surrounded by minor civil divisions that have required density. This is essentially the same principle as was applied in determining the metropolitan districts for cities of over 200,000 inhabitants at the censuses of 1910 and 1920, except that the area which might be included within the metropolitan district was then limited to

TABLE I  
UNITED STATES POPULATION, 1930  
(In Thousands)

	USUAL CLASSIFI- CATION	NEW CLASSIFI- CATION
Small Urban.....		19,600
Metropolitan Urban.....		49,354
Urban.....	68,954	
Metropolitan Village.....		729
Metropolitan Unincorporated....		4,669
Urban Including Metropolitan Areas.....		74,352
Total Urban Non-Farm.....	23,663	
Village Outside Metropolitan Areas.....		8,455
Rural Non-Farm Minus Village and Metropolitan Unincorpo- rated.....		9,810
Rural Farm.....	30,158	30,158
Total.....	122,775	122,775

classed as rural. This was not accurate in that large suburban populations outside of corporate limits were classed as rural, as were the inhabitants of villages of less

TABLE II

URBAN, METROPOLITAN VILLAGE AND METROPOLITAN UNINCORPORATED POPULATION BY STATES, 1930

REGION	CENSUS URBAN 1	METROPOLITAN VILLAGE 2	METROPOLITAN UNIN- CORPORATED 3	NEW TOTAL URBAN SUM OF 1, 2 AND 3
Alabama.....	744,273	5,611	72,279	822,163
Arkansas.....	382,878	2,092	12,064	397,034
Florida.....	759,778	4,965	42,787	807,530
Georgia.....	895,492	5,252	94,533	995,277
Kentucky.....	799,026	14,420	69,452	882,898
Louisiana.....	833,532		22,544	856,076
Mississippi.....	338,850			338,850
North Carolina.....	809,847			809,847
South Carolina.....	371,080			371,080
Tennessee.....	896,538	4,149	135,307	1,035,994
Virginia.....	785,537		109,262	894,799
<i>Southeast.....</i>	<i>7,616,831</i>	<i>36,489</i>	<i>558,228</i>	<i>8,211,548</i>
Arizona.....	149,856			149,856
New Mexico.....	106,816			106,816
Oklahoma.....	821,681	5,088	36,428	836,197
Texas.....	2,389,348	12,006	131,074	2,532,428
<i>Southwest.....</i>	<i>3,467,701</i>	<i>17,094</i>	<i>167,502</i>	<i>3,652,297</i>
Connecticut.....	1,131,770	8,534	265,381	1,405,685
Delaware.....	123,146	3,031	32,363	158,540
Maine.....	321,506			321,506
Maryland.....	974,869	1,877	129,965	1,106,711
Massachusetts.....	3,831,426		175,554	4,006,980
New Hampshire.....	273,079			273,079
New Jersey.....	3,339,244	127,336	248,559	3,715,139
New York.....	10,521,952	55,976	484,801	11,062,729
Pennsylvania.....	6,533,511	168,628	840,293	7,542,432
Rhode Island.....	635,429		20,939	656,368
Vermont.....	118,766			118,766
West Virginia.....	491,504	4,598	60,989	557,091
<i>Northeast.....</i>	<i>28,296,202</i>	<i>369,980</i>	<i>2,258,844</i>	<i>30,925,026</i>
Illinois.....	5,635,727	74,086	116,013	5,825,826
Indiana.....	1,795,892	19,774	86,022	1,901,688
Iowa.....	979,292	1,352	19,285	999,929
Michigan.....	3,302,075	14,353	137,297	3,453,725
Minnesota.....	1,257,616	12,854	30,750	1,301,220
Missouri.....	1,859,119	13,061	151,773	2,023,953
Ohio.....	4,507,371	76,097	294,109	4,877,577
Wisconsin.....	1,553,843	3,157	61,816	1,618,816
<i>Middle States.....</i>	<i>20,890,935</i>	<i>214,734</i>	<i>897,065</i>	<i>22,002,734</i>
Colorado.....	519,882	10,789	24,131	554,802
Idaho.....	129,507			129,507
Kansas.....	729,834		29,813	759,647
Montana.....	181,036			181,036



TABLE II—*Concluded*

REGION	CENSUS URBAN 1	METROPOLITAN VILLAGE 2	METROPOLITAN UNIN- CORPORATED 3	NEW TOTAL URBAN SUM OF 1, 2 AND 3
Nebraska.....	486,107	809	11,995	498,911
North Dakota.....	113,306			113,306
South Dakota.....	130,907			130,907
Utah.....	266,264	3,887	32,554	302,705
Wyoming.....	70,097			70,097
<i>Northwest</i> .....	2,626,940	15,485	98,493	2,740,918
California.....	4,160,596	36,888	482,909	4,680,393
Nevada.....	34,464			34,464
Oregon.....	489,746	9,129	45,431	544,306
Washington.....	884,539	9,468	84,614	978,621
<i>Far West</i> .....	5,569,345	55,485	612,954	6,237,784
United States*.....	68,467,954	709,267	4,593,086	73,770,307

\* District of Columbia is omitted.

1930 makes possible the recomputation of population distribution into more significant categories, namely metropolitan, other cities over 2,500, villages outside of metropolitan areas, other rural non-farm and rural farm. The 1930 population in each of these categories is shown in Table I.

The classification is still faulty in the following respects (1) the village population of New England is incomplete because of the township system; (2) the other rural non-farm is still a "catch all" including the suburban population of the non-metropolitan cities, the population of unincorporated villages such as many in New England and many industrial communities built around a single factory.

the territory within ten miles of the city boundary. At this present census no such limit has been applied.

"Ninety-six metropolitan districts have been established, each having an aggregate population of 100,000 or more, and containing one or more central cities of 50,000 or more inhabitants. No metropolitan district was established for those cities which did not have in the central city and surrounding area a population of at least 100,000."

It also includes casual country dwellers who do not live on a farm.

However the new classification has the following advantages: (1) The population of metropolitan areas is definitely separated from that of the smaller cities. When this is done it shows 44.6 per cent of the total population of the nation residing in metropolitan areas. (2) The urban population is almost completely accounted for since the present categories make it possible to add to the population previously classified as urban the large unincorporated metropolitan population<sup>2</sup> and the population of villages adjacent to metropolises, which are really more urbanized than isolated towns of 10,000. This adds to the urban population listed in the census volumes 4,670,000 of metropolitan unincorporated and 719,000 of metropolitan village inhabitants, increasing the 1930

<sup>2</sup> Of the total in unincorporated metropolitan areas, over a million are now classed as urban under the extension of the census urban category to include all unincorporated minor civil divisions with a density of over 1,000 per square mile and a population of over 10,000.

urban population of the United States from 56.2 per cent of the total as shown by the census classification to 60.6 per cent as shown by this classification. In the state of New Jersey the percentage urban is raised from 82.6 to 91.9 and in Pennsylvania the change is from 67.8 to 78.3, but in the southern and western states little change is made. (3) The new classification makes possible the partial separation

of true villages from the small suburban corporations which are satellites of metropolitan areas, which gives a truer picture of the relative importance of villages.

The metropolitan unincorporated and metropolitan village population which should be added to the urban is shown in Table II by states. The relation of the old to the new classification is shown in Diagram I.

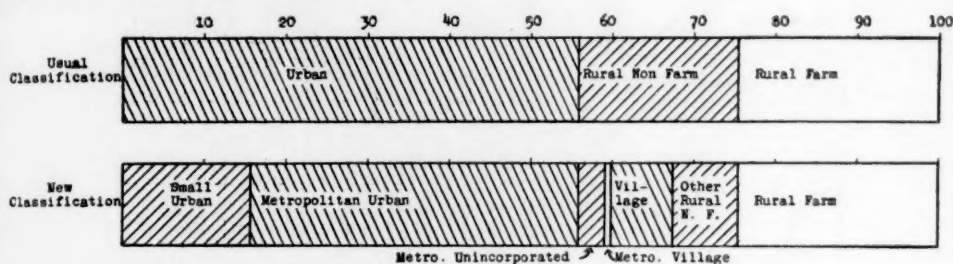


DIAGRAM I

## THE MOBILITY OF URBAN POPULATION

### A STUDY OF FOUR CITIES OF 30,000 TO 40,000 POPULATION

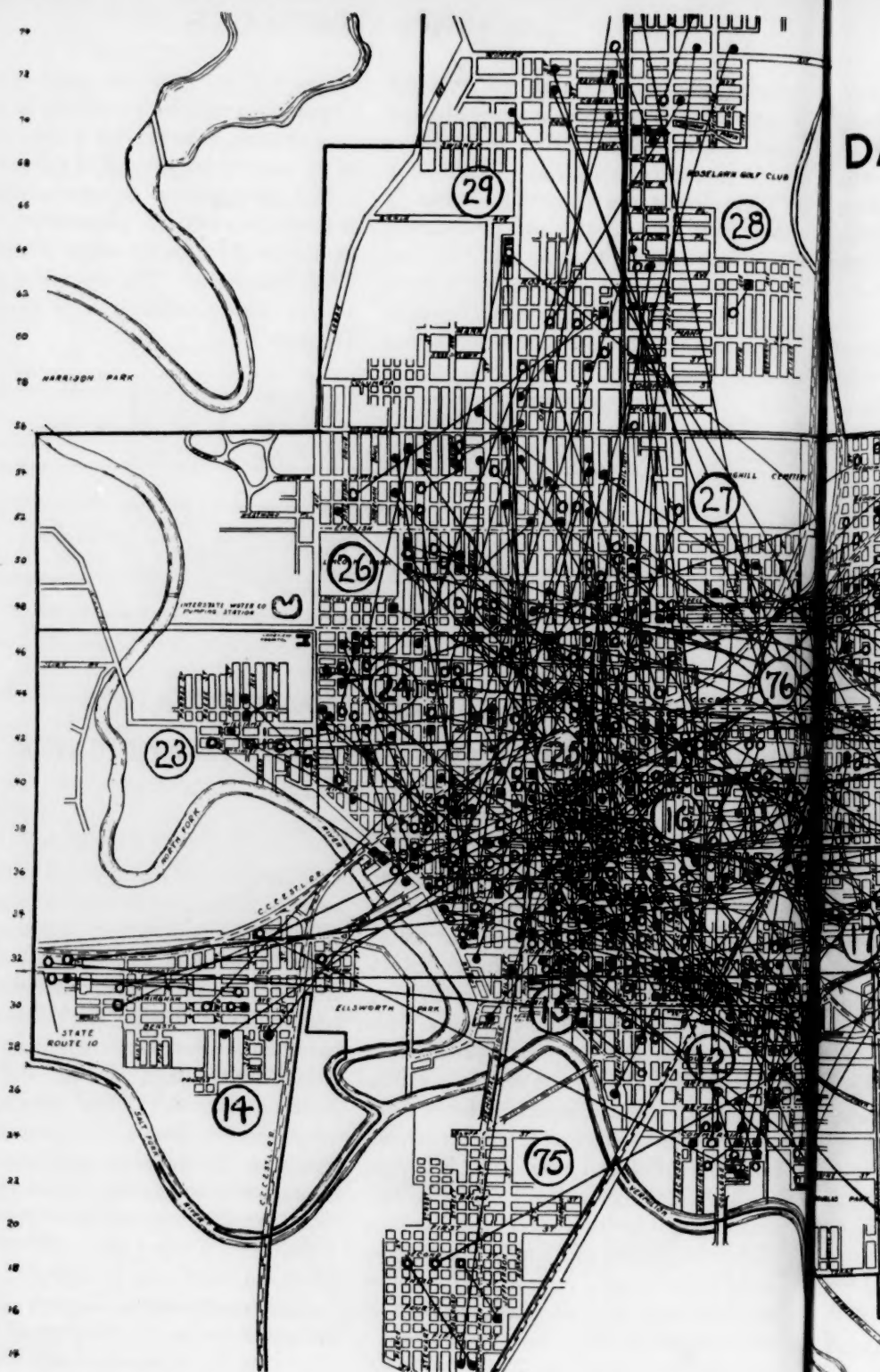
WILLIAM ALBIG

*University of Illinois*

**M**OBILITY refers to movement characterized by ease of change but, like so many of our sociological concepts, it has been applied to diverse phenomena without qualifying adjectives to differentiate the types. Although a too constant preoccupation with the definition of concepts may be a sterile and futile procedure, especially in the early decades of an attempt to delimit a complex field such as cultural interaction, it is none the less a practical necessity to have a consistent verbal medium of exchange, at least within the limits of a single paper. The mobility to which I refer in the following pages is that of change of residence of urban dwellers.

Those who have been interested in de-

scribing and explaining social phenomena in terms of position have been insistent on mobility as a basic index. Coming to the study of mobility through an interest in the phenomena of public opinion in its social control aspects, the present writer found no satisfactory materials on population mobility into, out of, and within middle-sized cities. The present study, therefore, is preliminary, a general record leading to the more intensive study of particular areas and groups within the cities. The approach to general mobility of population within four cities of thirty to forty thousand population is attempted through (1) the comparison of directory names and addresses for the years 1929 and 1930, in Danville, Bloomington, Rock Island, and



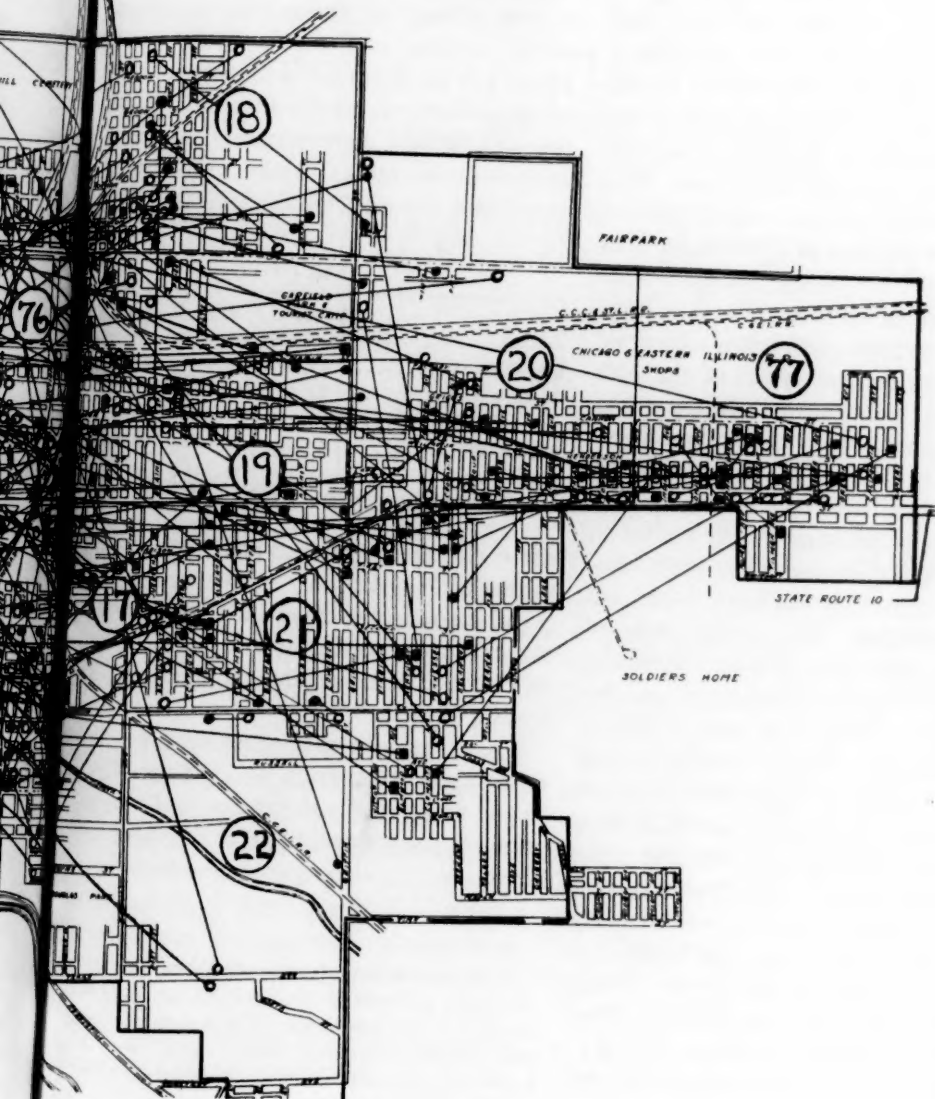
# MAP OF THE CITY OF DANVILLE ILLINOIS

Ten Percent Sample of  
Intra-Urban Mobility of  
Residence, 1929-30

○ - 1929

● - 1930

1 inch = 1200 ft.





Moline, Illinois (also a comparison of 1924-25 to 1929-30 in Danville); (2) a record, obtained through the coöperation of school officials of all changes of place of residence of school children from the sixth grade to the end of high school in Danville; (3) a factual questionnaire study of two hundred children who have never changed residence in comparison to two hundred who have moved more than seven times during their lifetimes.

A comparison of directory names and addresses in successive years provides a minimum record of movement into, out of, and within the city during the course of a year. Obviously, it does not record all mobility. It does not show those who have moved into and then out of the city between directory periods, nor those who have changed their place of residence more than once during the year. The directory, at least those here considered, names all residents over eighteen years of age who have been in the city more than two weeks and who state it as their place of residence. The number of children under eighteen years of age are listed by a numeral placed at the right of the male parent's name in the Danville and Bloomington directories; they are not listed in the Rock Island and Moline volumes. The comparison of directories, then, provides an understatement of the amount of mobility, and this understatement is not consistent for all the areas of the city, for, obviously, within some areas there is much more of short time residence of weeks' and months' duration than in other areas of the city.

The advantages of directory comparison are that it permits a record of an entire city (within the limitations mentioned), a record which could not be obtained otherwise except by a separate census. Also, by the use of the street guides at the end of the volume, it is possible to make spot maps of adequate random samples of

mobility, thus permitting a comparison of rates per thousand of mobility into, out of, and within the city in terms of population of its census districts. Types of methods used in any study must be developed in relation to the social facts under consideration, and, if the objective be the selection of areas for more intensive study, directory comparison is a legitimate procedure for the rough comparison of census districts. It is to be expected that those areas with a large amount of short time residence should consistently show, likewise, a higher rate per thousand in the comparison of census districts, provided the outlines of the area should approximately coincide with those of a census district. Moreover, when, as in this case, the results for several

TABLE I

	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
Danville.....	36,765	17,951	18,814
Bloomington.....	30,930	14,816	16,114
and Normal.....	6,758		
Rock Island.....	37,953	19,088	18,865
Moline.....	32,236	16,442	15,794

entire cities show rates as startlingly high as that of Danville (only 48.6 per cent of its population did not move during 1924-25), the procedure justifies itself in pointing to the need of other and more intensive studies of areas.

The cities here used were selected because they were large enough to have yearly directories and yet not so large as to make the task prohibitive.<sup>1</sup> The 15th Census records their population as shown in Table I.

<sup>1</sup> The comparison of over a hundred thousand names and addresses in the four cities and the construction of the sixteen maps which were made was a very laborious procedure, however, and I wish to express my appreciation of the work done by Helen Albog and Dena McMackin on the maps.

In addition, a study of mobility into, out of, and within cities of this size may be made from the directory information, in terms of rates per thousand, determined on the basis of adequate sampling from the different census districts of the city. The assumption of widely different rates of mobility for the areas of large cities could, therefore, be compared to those of smaller cities to determine whether the nice alignment of structure portrayed in terms of

these checks provided the basis for the material summarized in Table II. The Danville directories for 1924-25 were checked to provide a comparison with the same city five years later. These years were chosen because directories for single year periods for 1919-20 were not available, and also, because it was assumed that 1924-25 was a period of greater economic contrast to 1929-30 than other years would have provided.

TABLE II

CITY	POPULATION	NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE MOVED INTO CITY	NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE MOVED OUT OF CITY	NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE MOVED WITHIN CITY	TOTAL NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE MOVED	PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION AT END OF YEAR WHO HAVE NOT MOVED
Danville, 1929-30.....	36,765	6,866 18.7%	7,488 20.4%	7,231 19.7%	21,585 58.9%	61.6
Danville, 1924-25.....	35,271	8,751 24.8%	9,628 27.3%	9,392 26.6%	27,771 78.7%	48.6
Bloomington and Normal, 1929-30.....	37,688	8,098 21.2%	8,106 21.2%	8,346 25.5%	24,550 67.9%	53.3
Rock Island, 1929-30.....	37,953 *(26,172)	*7,541 28.8%	*6,304 24%	*3,965 15.1%	*17,810 87.9%	56.1
Moline, 1929-30.....	32,236 *(22,383)	*6,101 27.2%	*5,568 24.8%	*3,348 14.9%	*15,017 66.9%	57.9

\* Number over 18 years of age.

zones and gradients in the large city are paralleled with regard to the phenomena under consideration in the small city. The structure of cities of size here used has not as yet been adequately portrayed in sociological literature. Interest has largely been concentrated on the large urban area and the structure of the rural community.

Checking of names and addresses in the directories of the four cities for 1929 as compared to 1930 and the enumeration of

The appearance of new names in the 1930 directory was assumed to be due to migration into the city, or to the fact that the person, whose name appeared, had reached the age of eighteen. The results were refined, excluding those who had come of age. The disappearance of names from the 1930 directory was assumed to be due to removal from the city, of the persons listed in 1929, to death, or to the marriage of adult females. The materials were refined excluding disappearance of names due to

death of males, and an estimation of the probable number of marriages on the basis of composition of population. Table II summarizes the totals for the four cities.

The directories of Rock Island and Moline did not include the number of children under eighteen. Therefore, the percentages for those two cities deal only with population over eighteen in percentages of the total population over eighteen, as determined by the 1930 Census. The percentages of those who have not moved during the year is found by subtracting the number who moved in and the number who moved within the city from the census figures taken at the end of the year.

The percentages of the total population who did not move at all during the year, added to those who changed residences but stayed in the city, shows Danville ('29-'30) 81.5 per cent; Danville ('24-'25), 75.2 per cent; Bloomington, 78.8 per cent; Rock Island, 71.2 per cent; and Moline 72.8 per cent, of the population were in the cities at the end of the year who were there at the beginning of the year. This is of the total population including all ages and classes. Taking a selected class, registered voters, R. D. McKenzie found that 58.6 per cent, of the registered electors re-registered in 1918 in Columbus, Ohio. The cities are, however, not comparable as to size.

Rock Island and Moline show a larger number of people moving into than out of the city, during the depression year of 1929-30; Bloomington is almost the same, a few less in 1930 which was no doubt due to the dwindling number of clerical jobs in several sizeable commercial activities in that city (note the large number of single females who moved, Table III); Danville, somewhat more predominantly industrial than Bloomington, shows a sizeable excess of those moving out over those moving in,

and this excess was slightly greater in 1925 than in 1930 (2.5 per cent to 1.7 per cent). Moreover, the smaller proportion of the population who had not moved in Danville in 1925 as compared to the four cities in 1929-30, and then the slightly larger proportion who did not move in 1930 in comparison with the other three cities may be due to the fact that the incipience of industrial disorganization in Danville preceded the current depression, through the disorganization of several industries there.

There were 6.9 per cent more individuals who changed residence in Danville in 1925 than in 1930. By 1930 there had apparently occurred some settling down, an unwillingness to move except under sternest necessity among a part of the most mobile section of the population. The large percentage of movement within the city of Bloomington (25.5 per cent) in comparison to Rock Island (15.1 per cent) and Moline (14.9 per cent) is largely due to the type of mobile population in Bloomington. A sizeable, mobile, unmarried, female group, largely clerical workers, is more mobile than the family groups. Bloomington has such a group (see Table III).

In 1930 the average for the four cities of the number of people changing residence within the city was 15 per cent. In 1924 there were "over thirty thousand people listed in the Seattle city directory with different addresses than those they had had the previous year. This means that 19.4 per cent of the people listed in the directory had moved at least once within the city during the previous year."<sup>2</sup> These figures are not directly comparable because the Polk Directory Company in Seattle provided this figure of change of directory listings, while the 15 per cent

<sup>2</sup> A. Lind, *A Study of Mobility of Population in Seattle*, p. 24.

average for the cities here studied is based upon directory listings plus the children under eighteen.

The structure of the mobile population as to sex distribution, marital state, and the proportion of minors (directory minors, under 18) is presented in Table III.

An occupational basis for mobility emerges clearly from the percentages of this table.

In Bloomington the disproportionately high percentage of single females is noted (27.2 per cent to 21.7 per cent single males

difference is not as great as the percentage of mobile females to males.<sup>3</sup> Bloomington is more predominantly commercial than Danville, Rock Island, and Moline which no doubt explains this difference. The same tendency is to be noted in the relatively smaller percentages of married couples moving into Bloomington (32.5 per cent) and out of Bloomington (31.2 per cent), in comparison to those moving into Danville, Rock Island, and Moline (37.1 per cent, 40.6 per cent, 41.2 per cent) and out of these cities (36.4 per cent, 40.6

TABLE III

CITY	MOVED INTO				MOVED OUT				MOVED WITHIN			
	Single male	Single female	Married	Minors	Single male	Single female	Married	Minors	Single male	Single female	Married	Minors
Danville, 1929-30....	1,564 22.8%	1,479 21.5%	2,480 36.9%	1,343 19.5%	1,960 26.1%	1,737 23.2%	2,330 31.1%	1,461 19.5%	580 8%	817 11.3%	3,532 48.8%	2,302 31.8%
Danville, 1924-25....	1,871 21.3%	1,887 21.5%	3,248 37.1%	1,745 19.9%	2,259 23.4%	1,986 20.6%	3,510 36.4%	1,873 19.4%	720 7.6%	818 8.7%	4,646 49.4%	3,208 34.1%
Bloomington.....	1,759 21.7%	2,209 27.2%	2,630 32.5%	1,500 18.5%	1,832 22.6%	2,395 29.5%	2,532 31.2%	1,347 16.6%	598 7.1%	976 11.7%	4,096 49%	2,676 32%
Rock Island.....	2,528 33.5%	1,945 25.7%	3,068 40.6%		2,084 33%	1,656 26.2%	2,564 40.6%		571 14.4%	542 13.6%	2,852 71.9%	
Moline.....	2,225 36.4%	1,362 22.3%	2,514 41.2%		1,922 34.5%	1,432 25.7%	2,214 39.7%		480 14.3%	456 13.3%	2,412 72.3%	

within the same city). In Danville, Rock Island, and Moline the percentages of mobile females are 21.5 per cent, 25.7 per cent, and 22.3 per cent respectively. These are the percentages for movement into the city. Single females moving out of Bloomington are 29.5 per cent of the total in comparison to 22.6 per cent males, and to 20.6, 26.2, and 25.7 for the other cities. These single females are also more mobile than the single males within the city, 11.7 per cent to 7.1 per cent. While the number of females in Bloomington exceeds the males, 19,416 to 17,982, the

per cent and 39.7 per cent). The demand for a labor supply of unmarried females, with apparently a relatively high turnover, is here noticed.

In Rock Island and Moline, on the other hand, males slightly exceed females, 19,088 and 16,445 to 18,865 and 15,794.<sup>4</sup> But this difference is slight in comparison to the proportion of mobile unmarried males in those cities. Of the mobile population of Rock Island, among those moving in, 33.5

<sup>3</sup> Population Bulletin for Illinois. 15 Census, second series, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.



per cent are single males, as compared to 25.7 per cent single females (moving out—33.0 per cent to 26.2 per cent) and of Moline 36.4 per cent are single males as compared to 22.3 per cent single females (moving out—34.5 per cent to 25.7 per cent). Moreover, the more essentially industrial character of their occupations means a greater mobility of the married, 40.6 per cent and 41.2 per cent as compared to 32.5 per cent for Bloomington.

Thus, while in these three cities, the proportion of the population does not differ greatly within the year (only 3 per cent range among them), the composition of their mobile population differs markedly as to sex and marital conditions.

The proportion of mobile married couples having children and the number of children could be recorded only for Danville (two years) and Bloomington. There is no significant disproportion between the cities in the proportion of mobile minors (under 18) to the total mobile population (less than 2 per cent). In the composition of the mobile population as to the number of children per family involved in the moves out of the city, Bloomington shows a 6 per cent larger number of couples having only one child (see Table IV). This is probably not significant, however, as the percentage of mobile couples having one child who change residence within the city and move into the city is about the same as that of Danville.

In a comparison of the composition of the population of Danville and Bloomington, and the mobile population of these cities several significant differences may be noted.

(1) The percentage of the total mobile population who are married is less than the percentage married in the total population of the cities. In Danville, of those moving into the city, 36.9 per cent are

married, of those moving out, 31.1 per cent. The 1930 Census shows that of those over 15 years of age, 63.2 per cent are married. Correcting this to total population, using the numbers in the age categories given for the city, we find that 47.5 per cent of the total population are married. Averaging the ins and outs, there are 34 per cent married, in comparison to 47.5 per cent of the total population. Moreover, it may be noted that 5.8 per cent more of those moving into the city are married than of those moving out, substantiating the statement made earlier in this report, that, as adverse economic conditions intensify over several years, there is some tendency for the married group to become somewhat less mobile.

In Bloomington, 32.5 per cent of those moving into, and 31.2 per cent of those moving out, are married, in comparison to 46.9 per cent married of the total population.

In comparison to the percentages married who move into and out of the city, one notes that 48.8 per cent and 49.0 per cent of those changing residence within the city are married. There is no significant difference between these percentages and those of the total population, married.

(2) A much smaller percentage of minors are involved in the moves into and out of the cities than the percentages of minors in the total populations. In Danville, 19.5 per cent of those moving into and 19.5 per cent of those moving out are minors, while of the total population, 33.1 per cent are minors (under 18). In Bloomington, 18.5 per cent and 16.6 per cent are minors in comparison to 32 per cent for the total population. Of those changing residence within the cities, 31.8 per cent and 32.0 per cent are minors, which is almost exactly proportionate to the number of minors within the cities.

From the directory addresses and the

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street guides which appear at the end of Polk directories, it was possible to make spot maps of the residence of those moving into and out of the cities. Maps were also prepared for each city showing changed

in order to check the adequacy of the ten per cent sample. The ten per cent sample was found adequate to show the proportionate moves out of and into the twenty-one census districts of Danville, the differ-

TABLE IV

PERCENTAGES OF MOBILE MARRIED COUPLES HAVING CHILDREN AND OF THE NUMBER OF CHILDREN

CITY	MOVED INTO CITY		OUT OF CITY		WITHIN CITY	
	Percentage of couples who have children	Number of children in families, expressed in percentages of total number of couples who have children	Percentage of couples who have children	Number of children in families, expressed in percentages of total number of couples who have children	Percentage of couples who have children	Number of children in families, expressed in percentages of total number of couples who have children
Danville 1929-30	52.4	1 45	58	1 41.2	61.1	1 44.8
		2 27.3		2 28.8		2 25.3
		3 14.1		3 13.6		3 15
		4 7.5		4 10		4 7
		5 2.4		5 2.8		5 3.8
		6 2.1		6 2.2		6 2.7
		7 0.9		7 0.7		7 0.7
		8 0.3		8 0.4		8 0.5
		9 0		9 0		9 0
Danville 1924-25	61.9	1 40.5	50.2	1 40.9	64.4	1 41.8
		2 28.2		2 27.2		2 28
		3 15.9		3 18.9		3 14.9
		4 6.7		4 8.4		4 9
		5 3.8		5 3.3		5 3.7
		6 2.4		6 0.5		6 1.7
		7 1		7 0.5		7 0.4
		8 0.2		8 0.3		8 0.4
		9 0		9 0.1		9 0
Bloomington 1929-30	55.5	1 45.8	53	1 46.7	62.2	1 44.3
		2 26.4		2 28.3		2 27.9
		3 14.8		3 12.8		3 14.3
		4 7.1		4 6.7		4 5.9
		5 2.4		5 2.5		5 4.1
		6 2		6 1.7		6 1.7
		7 0.8		7 0.8		7 1.1
		8 0.2		8 0.3		8 0.4
		9 0.1		9 0		9 0.1

residence within the city, connecting the two spots with a line. Of the total number of moves a ten per cent random sample was prepared for each type of move for each city. In the case of Danville, a twenty per cent sample was placed on maps

ence in proportionate distribution between the districts between the ten and twenty per cent samples being only seven per cent. Of the twelve maps of the four cities, only one is reproduced in this report, that of Danville with its twenty-one census dis-

tricts, selected to show method and also the location of the various districts, so that the rates found in Table V may be understandable (see map). The number of moves and the number of people involved were counted for each census district, multiplied by ten, and expressed in terms of rates per thousand population (1930)

noted that districts 15, 16, 24, 25, and 77 have the highest rates for change of residence within the city, and districts 15, 16, 25, and 77 for movement out of the city. No such proportionately high rate for movement into these districts appears, however, except in the case of district 77, which has the highest rate for moves into,

TABLE V

CENSUS DISTRICT NUMBER	POPULATION OF DISTRICT	MOVES INTO AND OUT OF DANVILLE				MOVES WITHIN DANVILLE			
		Number of people moving into district	Number of people moving out of district	Rate per thousand into	Rate per thousand out of	Number of people moving into	Number of people moving out of	Rate per thousand into	Rate per thousand out of
12	1,411	305	350	216.1	248	300	310	212.6	219.7
13	2,091	360	520	172.1	248.6	340	465	162.6	222.4
14	1,317	325	370	246	280.9	270	255	205	193.6
15	1,882	390	655	207.2	348	360	460	191.2	244.4
16	2,232	535	640	239.7	286.7	390	705	174.7	315.8
17	2,406	455	520	189	216.1	415	425	172.4	176.6
18	1,723	440	300	255.3	174.1	305	285	177	165.4
19	2,289	485	400	211.4	174.7	400	320	174.7	139.8
20	1,824	265	275	145.2	150.8	315	215	172.7	117.8
21	2,236	315	455	140.8	203.4	530	425	237	190
22	1,130	175	150	154.8	132.7	140	165	124	146
23	761	165	40	216.8	52.5	100	115	131.4	151.1
24	1,723	240	345	139.2	200.1	405	495	235	287.2
25	1,926	455	515	236.2	267.3	545	565	283	293.3
26	2,273	275	325	120.9	142.9	555	370	244.1	162.8
27	2,732	610	505	223.2	184.8	485	530	177.5	194
28	899	95	115	105.7	128	145	30	161.1	33.3
29	1,850	195	310	105.4	167.5	460	220	248.6	119
75	1,160	120	105	103.4	90.5	115	170	99.1	146.5
76	1,262	315	300	249.5	237.7	220	250	174.3	198
77	1,495	510	405	341.1	270.9	360	380	240.8	254.1
Total...	36,622	7,030	7,600			7,155	7,155		

for that district. The results appear in Table V.

The center of the business district of Danville is the square at Main and Vermilion Streets, with the business area ranging north on Vermilion and east and west on Main. Census districts 15, 16, 24, 25, and 76 cover the older parts of the city, those nearest to the central business district. These districts are all characterized by a higher rate of mobility. It will be

and a very high rate for moves out of the city. This is an area of families of inmates of the National Soldier's Home, and of Workmen. It is located at the extreme east of the city.

(1) Descriptions of mobility in urban areas have characterized the section immediately around the main business district as areas of highest mobility. This pattern appears in these medium sized cities, but is not so dominantly characteristic of their

mobility as it is of the large city. Districts 15, 16, 24, 25, and 77 show the highest rates per thousand, but they exceed in mobility a number of the other districts by only fifteen or twenty per cent. Using transfers of school children, Lind showed a range for school districts of Seattle, Washington, of from ten to sixty per cent mobility.<sup>5</sup> No such extremes appear in these smaller cities. Residence of mobile persons is characterized by much greater diffusion over the entire city than is true of the large city.

(2) In the movement out of the city, this general distribution occurs, districts 14, 15, 16, 25, and 77 having the highest rates. However, these rates do not greatly exceed those of several other districts. The high mobility of these districts is indicative of the importance of the rôle of economic factors as selective in determining movement away from the city. In the same year the residence of those moving into the city is much more diffused over the entire city.

(3) A comparison of rates of those moving out of the city and into the city by districts shows a much greater diffusion of those coming in. The disproportion between the number of single males and females going out to those coming in during the year (see Table III) should in large part explain that difference. The districts characterized by the largest movement from them, out of the city, during the year are the districts in which the unmarried, young and mobile elements tend to congregate. It is interesting to note this much more even distribution of residence of those moving in than of those moving out, however, as the total numbers of those moving into the entire city are about the same as those moving out. Relatively rapid changes in real estate values and

rentals, due to the depression, may explain a part of the difference.

(4) That such a selective process is occurring is further verified by an examination of the rates per thousand for changes of residence within the city. In districts 15 and 16 the numbers of those moving out to other parts of the city far exceed those moving into these districts. I have already noted that a much larger number have moved from these districts going out of the city than have moved into them coming into the city. The trend is very marked for both types of phenomena. During the year 141 more persons per thousand moved out of than moved into district 16 in changing residence within the city, while 47 more persons per thousand moved out of the district to leave the city than moved into the district in coming into the city.

(5) District 77 in Danville, at the extreme eastern end of the city, has the highest mobility rates of any district of the city. This is due to a local phenomenon, as this district is flanked by the National Soldier's Home and there is constant mobility of families of inmates who settle in this district, as well as the traditional camp followers of our soldiery. It is an exception to the general pattern of structure which has been indicated.

In general, these smaller cities are not miniature large cities in their pattern of mobility. Although characterized by some intensity of mobility around the downtown business areas, they show a much more even distribution between districts of the residences of the mobile population than would be characteristic of the very large city.

Those who changed residence within the cities are shown on five spot maps, a ten per cent random sample spotted, showing the residence in 1929 and in 1930. These are joined by lines and the distance

<sup>5</sup> Lind, *op. cit.*, p. 16.



measured. (The map is included as an illustration.) Distance in change of residence must be considered in terms of the areas and general shape of the cities.

TABLE VI  
DISTANCE OF MOVES WITHIN CITY

FEET	NUMBER AND PER CENT MOVING			
	Danville 1919-30	Danville 1914-15	Rock Island	Moline
0-1,199.....	92 28.3%	128 33.7%	78 30.7%	54 25.7%
1,200-2,399.....	47 14.4%	60 15.8%	41 16.1%	38 17.7%
2,400-3,599.....	44 13.5%	34 8.9%	31 12.2%	27 12.6%
3,600-4,799.....	35 10.7%	28 7.3%	29 11.4%	26 12.1%
4,800-5,999.....	23 7.0%	30 7.7%	22 8.7%	18 8.4%
6,000-7,199.....	16 4.9%	33 8.6%	21 8.2%	23 10.7%
7,200-8,399.....	12 6.7%	12 3.0%	6 2.3%	10 4.6%
8,400-9,599.....	14 4.3%	16 4.0%	5 1.9%	4 1.8%
9,600-10,799.....	9 2.7%	13 3.4%	5 1.9%	3 1.4%
10,800-11,999.....	7 2.1%	9 2.3%	11 4.3%	2 0.9%
12,000-13,199.....	3 0.9%	8 2.1%	1 0.4%	1 0.4%
13,200 and above....	13 4.0%	9 2.3%	4 1.5%	8 3.7%

Danville has grown out in all directions from the business center, except that on the southwest its growth has been impeded by a valley and the Vermilion River. The area in which mobility occurs is roughly

three miles east and west by two north and south. Bloomington has grown out from the business center in all directions, and is about two miles and a half east and west and the same north and south. Rock Island, on the Mississippi River, has grown back from the river, fronting the river about two and a half miles and going back a mile from the river. Moline, likewise a river town, is of similar structure, but extends back from the river almost two miles. Despite these differences in area and structure, the distances moved in changing residence within the city are proportionately surprisingly similar. The distances moved, measured directly from residence to residence, and expressed in feet are compared in Table VI.

Directories provide a possibility for another type of mobility record than that which has been dealt with in the preceding discussion. In the end section of Polk Directories there is a street and avenue guide and a directory of householders. In this section one finds the name of the street, then the number of the residence, then the name of the householder. This material could be used in several ways in the construction of mobility indexes for areas.

(1) The human ecologist deals with the phenomena of succession. For areas where mobility is not too pronounced, but where a gradual change from year to year has occurred, it would be possible to build up indexes showing the fluctuations of such changing rates of mobility. A ten, twenty, or thirty year series of directories could be compared for selected areas of the city. This would be applicable to large as well as small cities, if areas of single family dwellings were being studied. Taking the sections of the streets involved in the area, say Street A from house numbers 1600 to 2000, Street B numbers 700 to 1100, etc., the names of the householders

could be checked and the rate of change noted. A series of years should provide evidence of major fluctuations, at least, as to mobility of residence.

(2) Radial streets could be chosen instead of small sample areas. Thus, Street A from house numbers 400 to 2000 might be compared as to householders for the years 1910 to 1930. Changing rates of mobility as indicative of general changing structure of the parts of the radial street shown could be graphically and quantitatively portrayed. Street A could be dealt with by sections, numbers 400-700, 700-1000, etc. If the validity of the use of directories as even a general index of mobility is granted, these and other possible uses of them must be obvious.

## II

Although adequate records of population mobility characterizing different types of communities do not exist (the foregoing record being an attempt to posit a method of recording such cross-sections for one type of city), the social psychologist is ultimately interested in the effects of mobility upon individuals of different classes, of age and sex, or upon social and economic classes, the tramp, the hotel vagrant, the dweller in furnished rooms, the families of industrial workers, and the like. The attempt to isolate the factor mobility from other traits which in contemporary society concur in producing items of behavior is obviously complex. However, generalizations about the effects of population mobility, shrewd though the comments may be, are likely to prove unsatisfying until such correlations of factors is attempted for specific groups. Although ours may be a highly mobile society, all parts of it are by no means equally mobile, and a comparison of groups who have moved many times to those who have never moved may not be

entirely futile even though it is not posited that differences found are results of mobility. For example, any persistent differences in behavior within the community of those who have never moved in comparison to those who have moved many times are worth recording in order to characterize the groups, even if mobility is not assumed as the sole "cause."

In the records of population movement in the four cities, families show a disproportionately small number of moves into and out of the city, but change residence within the cities in numbers proportionate to the total numbers of families in the population (Table III). A record of the mobility of a portion of these families, those having children of school age, can be obtained directly from the children in the school system. This was done for Danville. A one page factual record was obtained from each pupil from the sixth grade to the end of high school. From these 3034 questionnaires a random selection of two hundred who had never moved and then two hundred who had changed residence more than seven times was made. To these two groups of two hundred each a more elaborate factual questionnaire was presented. The schedule is too long to be reproduced here, but in the remainder of this article, I shall briefly summarize some of the results.

The record obtained from the directories provided some information on the mobility of the entire population for two selected years; the record sheets of the 3,034 pupils gives information on the mobility of the children and their families during their whole lifetimes. Of the 1,606 grade school children; 875 were born in Danville, 734 elsewhere; 624 of the 1,428 high school pupils were born in Danville, 804 elsewhere. There is in this no significant difference between the two groups. A slightly higher percentage of the high

school pupils have never changed residence, however, (15.3 per cent as compared to 11.8 per cent) indicating a slight excess in stability of the families with children in high school.

The 1,416 grade school children who had changed residence had done so in Danville 3,189 times, and elsewhere 1,809 times; an average of 3.53 moves per child; the 1,209 high school students have changed residence 4,173 times, an average of 3.4 times. Some selective process becomes more apparent here as the high school students would average three years older than the fifth to eighth grade pupils, and yet have moved on the average only 3.4 times to 3.5 for the grade schools. Five years ago in a curriculum study in California a sample of mobility record was obtained for the cities and rural areas of the state for pupils for the first eight grades. The average moves for city children was 2.6, and 2.7 for the rural children.<sup>6</sup>

In the collection of the Danville records fifteen grade schools were involved. Percentages were calculated for each of these of those pupils who were born in Danville and elsewhere, of those who have changed residence, those who have moved in Danville only, those who have changed residence elsewhere only, but have not moved within Danville, those who have changed residence in Danville and elsewhere, and percentages of each school who have never moved. All these percentages tend to support the assertion made on the basis of the directory study, that the residences of mobile population are much more generally diffused throughout the city than would be true of the larger cities. For

example, the range of percentages of those who have never moved is from 4 to 16, with the percentages for the two schools nearest the center of the business district at 11.3 and 16. In the school population of these districts 15 and 16 which had high mobility rates we find, therefore, a sizeable element, which has never changed residence. In the larger city, this group of permanent residents would no doubt have been driven to some other part of the city by changing values and neighborhood conditions. In cities of this size they may remain along with the more mobile elements of the population. The areas therefore are mixed as to the type of residence assuming less of the rigidly characteristic single types areas of the similarly located areas of large cities. Of those who have changed residence but have lived in Danville all their lives, the largest percentage is for the Garfield School in Census district 27, a half mile north of the business district, but the difference is only eight per cent between these and the Washington School, that nearest the center of the city. A comparison of the number of times which the pupils of the various schools had moved was next made, but this shows very little of a regional nature; in the Washington School, just outside of the main business district, 23 per cent had moved once, 16 per cent twice, 11 per cent three times, 10 per cent four times, 8 per cent five times, and 7 per cent more than five times; while in the Roselawn School, in the best residential area of the city, 36 per cent had moved once, 16 per cent twice, 14 per cent three times, 8 per cent four times, 3 per cent five times. The percentages for the other schools do not differ materially.

The reasons for changing residence within the city were tabulated and, although they vary from the buying of property to ejection because of the barking

<sup>6</sup> Utilizing tables of number of moves given on p. 298 of *The California Curriculum Study*, by W. C. Bagley and G. C. Kyte, I figured these numbers. They are not directly comparable to the figures for Danville which include the six years before entering school.

of the family dog, the dominance of changes in economic status of the family either up or down as a reason for changing residence is very marked. Next in importance as a reason for changing residence is change in the family structure, through death, illness, separation, divorces, and remarriages.

Of the tabulated results from the information blank filled in by the students who had never moved and those who had moved more than seven times, only a few items can be recorded here. Spot maps of the place of residence of the three best friends of those who had moved many times and those who had never moved were made. On the maps the spots for the residence of each of the three friends and the informant were joined by lines, and the distance measured. That vicinage might play a larger part in determining close friendships of those who had lived in one house all their lives in comparison with the transients was the hypothesis. It did not prove to be correct, since the average distance from the home of the informant to that of each of three closest friends was 2800 feet for the total group of the "most mobile," while the average distance to the homes of closest friends was 2600 feet for those of no residential mobility.

Type of housing differs somewhat between the two groups, 10 per cent of the most mobile living in apartments, and 12 per cent in double houses in comparison with 0 and 7 per cent for the permanent dwellers. In occupational groups a significant distribution of salesmen, store managers, doctors, and ministers appears among the most mobile group, which would have been unlikely thirty years ago. The average number of children in the families of the most mobile is 3.39; of the least mobile 3.68; 10 per cent of the most mobile families have only one child, 18 per

cent of the least mobile have only one child. That the elders get lost in the shuffle amongst mobile families is a thesis frequently put forward by those studying old age as a "social problem." Yet 29 per cent of the most mobile families of Danville had parents or other dependent relatives living with them, while at the homes of only 17 per cent of the permanent residents were there such relatives.

Of the most mobile group, 73 per cent were members of some of the city's churches, while the permanent residents held memberships in 88 per cent of the cases. The fathers of the most mobile families of high school students find membership in lodges a link to the community for 54 per cent belong to such organizations, averaging 1.61 organizations per father, but only 20 per cent of the fathers of grade school children belong to a lodge or club. Among the permanent dwellers 56 per cent and 48 per cent of the fathers are club members. The mothers of the mobile families of high school students are not inactive, 40 per cent belonging to clubs and averaging 1.46 organizations per mother, but the mothers of families who have never moved belong to clubs in 45 per cent of the cases, averaging 1.63 clubs per mother. Of the parents of grade school children, the mothers of the most mobile families belong to clubs in only 16 per cent of the cases, while 28 per cent of the permanent residents are members. Moreover, it is interesting to note that the mothers of families of high school students who have changed residence more than seven times have acquired a list of offices in all sorts of club organizations, more than twice as extensive as that of any other groups. The younger members of the more mobile families are also more active in club activities than are the permanent residents, 45 per cent having memberships in clubs in comparison to 32 per cent of



the permanent residents. Further comparisons of participation in community activity is indicated by the voting record of the two groups. Of the high school students, some member of 80 per cent of the mobile families voted during the past year, 91 per cent during the past five years; while the permanent dwellers voted in 81 per cent and 84 per cent of the cases respectively. The families of mobile grade school students voted in 81 per cent and 84 per cent of the cases, the permanent families 96 per cent and 95 per cent. The degree of participation in community activities does not appear to be dependent upon mobility as much as upon type of population. Aggressive community activity is noted throughout the results on the part of the families of these high school students who have moved more than seven times.

A few differences in units of various stimuli in the process of communication may be noted between the mobile and non-mobile students. During the preceding month those with greatest mobility of residence attended 3.15 motion picture performances, the non-mobile, 2.85. The most mobile took 5.65 books from the public library, while the permanent residents read 4.46. The most mobile group are much more active correspondents, 64 per cent writing letters to an average of 3.28 friends, while of the permanent residents, only 43 per cent write letters to an average of 3 friends per person.

Degree of participation in the life of the immediate neighborhood is noted in a number of items. Asked to list the names of the neighbors for three houses on each side of the student, 13 per cent of the mobile students were unable to list any of them, while 3 per cent of the permanent residents could think of none of the names; on the other hand, 31 per cent of the mobile people could list the names of the 6 nearest

neighbors and 50 per cent of the permanent residents could do so. A list of all the items loaned or borrowed recently shows the mobile families to be considerably more active in making loans to neighbors than are the permanent residents. They also borrow more items. This may reflect, not more neighborliness, but the comparative scarcity of many of those infrequently used items of household rubbish among the mobile families. The permanent residents have accumulated the items and do not need to borrow; for example, the lawn-mower borrowing propensities of the mobile families cannot be equaled by the permanent residents. During the past month, 53 per cent of the mothers of mobile families had gone shopping with neighbors, in comparison to 46 per cent of the permanent residents; 56 per cent had visited sick neighbors, to 54 per cent of the non-mobile folk; 82 per cent had visited neighbors during the past month, in comparison to 80 per cent of the permanent residents who had visited neighbors. The parents of the most mobile high school students gave more presents in the neighborhood, sent more greeting cards, took care of more neighbors' children while the neighbors were out, and in a number of other ways took a more active part in neighborhood activities than did any group studied. This was certainly not true of the families of mobile industrial and clerical workers who formed the bulk of the families of the most mobile grade school children. Distinctions between groups appear to be not so much on the basis of mobility or lack of it, but on the basis of social and economic status of the participants. Aggressive community and neighborhood participation is part of a general pattern carried over from community to community in cities of this size by transient professional and commercial families. This is not equally true of large

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<sup>1</sup> See  
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communities. A collection of life histories of different types of mobile families would be more informative on this point.

In conclusion, (1) the neat pattern of spatial distribution of mobile areas within cities which has been posited for the large urban areas does not appear in these smaller cities, although there is some intensity of mobility of residence around

the downtown business districts. (2) The effects of mobility of residence upon participation of individuals in community activities must be studied in terms of particular groups, especially occupation and economic status groups. Present generalizations on the effects of residential mobility upon human behavior in community process are not likely to prove valid for all groups.

### AN EXTRACT FROM A STUDENT'S EXAMINATION PAPER<sup>1</sup>

DOUGLAS WAPLES

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THE following paragraphs are quoted from an examination paper that has just crossed my desk. The paper was written by a librarian widely known to the profession for long and successful experience as head-classifier in a famous reference library. As a student in this school, she became sufficiently familiar with methods of research in the social sciences to recognize their application to certain problems in librarianship. The testimony of such a librarian, it would seem, should be accorded a fuller measure of confidence than either the testimony of research students who are not librarians or the testimony of librarians who have no adequate acquaintance with the theory and practice of research in the social sciences. The honesty of the statement is believed to be self-evident.

As part of a preliminary examination toward the doctorate the student was asked to "List the five books on methods of investigation in the social sciences (or other sciences) that you have found most helpful. Write a somewhat detailed criti-

cism of each as applied to the investigation of problems in librarianship, broadly conceived." The reply follows:

"At first I thought I might have to send in a blank to this question, inasmuch as I have taken no formal courses in social research nor carried on projects that involved the testing out and use of many of the methods. As I thought the matter over further, I decided it would be fairer to myself to refer to the reading which I had done in connection with my courses and outside as well, which has helped me gradually to understand the meaning of modern scientific research and the purpose of this School.

"All of the courses which I have taken in Sociology have been chosen with the purpose of acquiring the kind of knowledge which I thought necessary in the classification of books and in certain other parts of library work, namely, courses offering a wide knowledge of the field, its history and present status, its theories, terminology, biography, and bibliography. I was trying to define a method of approach which could be used in many other fields to equip one for library work. Reading in Lichtenberger, Floyd House,

<sup>1</sup> See also "Librarianship and Social Research in the United States," *Library Review* of Coatbridge, Scotland, Winter, 1932.

Bogardus, Small, and Bernard gave the history. Park and Burgess *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* did two things for me; it gave sociological concepts and terminology, showing the genesis and development of these, through readings from many authorities; but most important of all, it explained the nature of the change that sociology and all of the social sciences are undergoing in attempting to become true experimental sciences. The idea of considering library science as a genuine social science and being able to test its usefulness objectively is foreign to the thinking of most librarians. It is easy to see why it takes considerable time to become adjusted to the point of view represented by the social scientist who is working on library problems.

"In connection with my effort to organize the concepts and topics of sociology I examined many books; among others which gave most help were those by Sorokin, Hankins, Eubanks (articles only), Young, Durkheim, Stuart Rice, Odum and Jocher.

"In connection with my newly aroused conception of the meaning of research, the following books and articles have helped; most of them I have read over and over again. Dewey, *How We Think*, *Sources of A Science of Education*, *Philosophy and Education* (in the Schilpp volume); certain chapters in Kelley's *Scientific Method* and his article on 'A Defence of Science in Education'; articles on the Graduate Library School at Chicago and on the contribution of reading studies to social sciences; *The New Social Science*, edited by White; Odum and Jocher, *Introduction to Social Research*; articles by John Cotton Dana who stressed so often the fact of social and economic change and its effect on the library. Most of these are readable and up-to-the-minute in interest. If read by librarians, such material should challenge attention to the

question—why follow the old method of speculation for finding solutions to difficulties when there is a chance of selecting the best solution in advance? If they can more clearly understand what is happening in other sciences, they will understand how libraries can benefit.

"I am not asking these questions rhetorically nor to fill up space. They are very real to me as I think they should be to most librarians. Will librarians be willing to carry on experimental work in their libraries? Will they be able to modify their attitudes and consider their problems not merely within the walls of the library but also from without, in their larger social implications and relationships?

"This year I have become familiar with a number of books on procedures in research. My method is usually not to read a book through, but to seek in a number of books material on certain subjects in which I am at the time interested; such as the questionnaire as a method, the rôle of judgment as a unit of measurement, ways of choosing a problem, thesis writing, etc. Books on the application of research methods to the problems of other professions help to clarify the distinction between service problems and research problems.

"I can think of many problems that have to do with the internal organization of a large library that might be studied as service problems and perhaps illuminated by such study. Often, of course, the personal element is so strong that the analysis may lead to rejection of the problem, since available objective evidence may stop so far short of the actual difficulty. In other such cases, the solution of the problem may involve changes in the staff. *E.G.* Why do the two assistants working at the shelf-list, no matter who they are, always end by no longer speaking to each other?

Why does a certain section of the catalog work always lag and delay work all along the line? Should the gift work be under the control of the order or the catalog department? Why do the reference people find it so difficult to find entries under U. S.? Do catalogers do better work if they have experience in reference service? . . . I should like to see the idea of the service problem stressed in library schools as a technique for solving difficulties.

"I should like to have a course given in the Graduate Library School introducing the student to science as a method of thinking, and to the whole range of social research. This should bring out the interrelations of the social sciences, and lead finally to a consideration of the place and function of the library, in its various types, as a development of the social process and as an influence upon it. An excellent textbook for this purpose would be Odum and Jocher, *An Introduction to Social Research*, although, of course, it does not mention the library as an institution nor librarianship as a field for investigation.

"In describing librarianship as a field for research it seems to me we may consider it as having subject-matter of its own, even

though it must incorporate much from other fields. Broadly conceived, the field contains two major sub-fields: (1) the field of the community's reading interests and needs, expressed in terms of life problems, informational requirements, intellectual curiosities, and emotional preferences responsive to reading, and (2) the specific nature of these needs expressed in terms of reading materials. In order to meet such needs accurately and completely, the librarian must master the subject equipment required for discriminating selection of books, for the most useful cataloging and classification, for effective reference service and other recognized types of library activity. Problems of routine, staff organization, and most administrative problems, the library shares with other organizations.

"But it is no less essential that the librarian go behind his casual impressions and the traditions of the craft to determine, as precisely as he can, the nature and variation of reading needs which should give direction to the entire administration of the library. Methods of investigation developed in other fields apply helpfully to both of the sub-fields indicated."

See *Five Years of "Planning" Literature*, by Evelyn C. Brooks and Lee M. Brooks, in *LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP*, pp. 430-465, in this number of *SOCIAL FORCES*.



## PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES FOR FAMILY RELIEF

MARY PHLEGAR SMITH

*Hollins College*

IN VIEW of the present day attention to appropriations for family relief from city treasuries, it is timely to review the part taken by cities in this activity heretofore. The practice is not a new one, for in the United States the responsibility of the cities to care for the poor and destitute has been recognized and has been accepted not only as it applies to care for these groups in institutions but also to care for them in their own homes.

Appropriations for "charities" are not itemized in the reports to the Bureau of the Census, prior to 1911. In that year, however, figures submitted show that 88 per cent of all cities of 30,000 population or over, were granting funds for outdoor poor relief. In 1915 only 81 per cent of the cities were making appropriations for this purpose, but by 1925 the number had risen to 87 per cent. This percentage was maintained through 1928, the last published figures on the *Financial Statistics of Cities*.

In 1928, 218 of a total of 250 cities, appropriated, \$16,417,113 for outdoor poor relief. In 1925, 217 cities reported expenditures of \$10,895,893 for this service; in 1915, \$3,810,774; and in 1911, \$2,238,494.

Glenn Steele, writing on the cost of

family relief in 1929 and 1930,<sup>1</sup> says that 75 cities of a population of 50,000 or more spent \$7,023,440 for outdoor relief in 1929 and \$17,279,476 in 1930.

By grouping the cities according to size, the increases in expenditures are shown in relation to population groups.

The larger cities have evidently been forced to assume greater burdens than the smaller ones, indicating perhaps, that severer conditions of poverty and dependency are found in the larger industrial centers.<sup>2</sup>

The per capita expenditures for outdoor relief show, also, steady increase in amounts appropriated. Here it will be noted that the smaller cities report a higher per capita than cities of any other group in recent years.

If we check the expenditure for outdoor relief against the total governmental cost payments of the cities, we find that no group spent in or prior to 1928 as much as one per cent of its governmental cost payments for this service, but that all groups are appropriating an increasing percentage

<sup>1</sup> Cost of Family Relief in 100 Cities, 1929 and 1930, *Monthly Labor Review*, April 1931.

<sup>2</sup> Steele, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

of total governmental cost payments for outdoor relief.

Table 3 gives the amount of appropriations by cities on a regional basis.

areas had, in 1928 and 1925, the lowest per capita appropriation, but have a higher percentage of city participation than any of the other groups except New England,

TABLE 1  
EXPENDITURES FOR FAMILY RELIEF IN CITIES OF 30,000 OR MORE POPULATION

CLASS OF CITIES	RELIEF EXPENDITURES				PER CENT INCREASE
	1928	1925	1915	1911	
Cities with population of 100,000 or more.....	12,982,985	8,389,043	2,814,643	1,541,268	742
Cities with population of 50,000 to 100,000.....	1,954,029	1,411,859	550,479	373,406	278
Cities with population of 30,000 to 50,000.....	1,480,099	1,094,991	445,652	313,820	249

TABLE 2  
PER CAPITA EXPENDITURES FOR FAMILY RELIEF IN CITIES OF 30,000 OR MORE POPULATION

	PER CAPITA RELIEF EXPENDITURES			
	1928	1925	1915	1911
Cities with population of 500,000 and over.....	.40	.28	.11	.06
Cities with population of 300,000 to 500,000.....	.24	.20	.16	.09
Cities with population of 100,000 to 300,000.....	.37	.26	.10	.08
Cities with population of 50,000 to 100,000.....	.31	.25	.13	.09
Cities with population of 30,000 to 50,000.....	.51	.32	.14	.09

TABLE 3  
EXPENDITURES FOR FAMILY RELIEF IN CITIES OF 30,000 OR MORE POPULATION BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION	RELIEF EXPENDITURES							
	1928		1925		1915		1911	
	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita
New England.....	5,373,680	1.38	3,839,372	.99	3,241,859	.38	546,402	.18
Middle Atlantic.....	2,961,828	.20	2,174,615	.16	996,469	.09	676,553	.06
North Central.....	5,394,213	.37	3,125,256	.23	999,989	.11	681,665	.08
South Atlantic.....	613,280	.18	419,180	.13	171,741	.08	138,219	.06
South Central.....	445,138	.13	243,545	.08	85,803	.04	40,540	.02
Mountain.....	176,742	.30	90,518	.16	44,141	.08	48,557	.12
Pacific.....	1,446,591	.41	1,052,407	.35	279,472	.12	54,183	.03

The New England cities, it is apparent, have the highest per capita appropriation and are the only group of cities in which there is 100 per cent participation in outdoor poor relief. Cities in the southern

for 36 of a total of 39 southern cities of 30,000 population and over appropriate tax funds for this service. Evidently, while the county is the unit for public welfare administration—as it is in local

governmental activities throughout—the cities assume some responsibility for outdoor poor relief. In the East North Central group the cities not appropriating for this purpose are, with one exception, in Indiana and Illinois. All cities of Ohio and Wisconsin of the population group

Jersey cities and decidedly less in Pennsylvania, with Reading reporting \$270 spent for outdoor relief in 1928, Wilkes-Barre \$2550, Norristown, \$42, Lancaster \$3,376, York \$810, and Scranton, Erie, Harrisburg, Easton, and Hazleton nothing at all.<sup>3</sup>

TABLE 4  
APPROPRIATIONS FOR MOTHERS' PENSIONS IN CITIES OF 30,000 OR MORE POPULATION

CLASS OF CITIES	MOTHERS' PENSION EXPENDITURES					
	1928		1925		1917	
	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita	Total	Per capita
Cities with population of 500,000 and over.....	10,890,149	.54	8,988,197	.47	778,107	.05
Cities with population of 300,000 to 500,000.....	867,179	.20	851,168	.19	328,527	.08
Cities with population of 100,000 to 300,000.....	729,145	.07	734,311	.12	218,513	.03
Cities with population of 50,000 to 100,000.....	411,529	.06	408,027	.11	100,283	.02
Cities with population of 30,000 to 50,000.....	281,920	.09	233,890	.15	134,099	.04

TABLE 5  
APPROPRIATIONS FOR MOTHERS' PENSIONS IN CITIES OF 30,000 OR MORE POPULATION BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION

GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS	1928			1925		
	Total	Per capita	Number of cities reporting this expenditure	Total	Per capita	Number of cities reporting this expenditure
New England.....	1,907,789	.49	37	1,875,493	.47	37
Middle Atlantic.....	8,122,356	.56	10	6,386,374	.47	10
North Central.....	2,666,046	.19	9	1,750,424	.17	6
South Atlantic.....	9,030	.002	1			
South Central.....	14,853	.004	2	1,213	.0004	1
Mountain.....	114,256	.19	1	73,957	.13	1
Pacific.....	345,862	.10	2	319,386	.11	2

under discussion make some appropriation. In the Middle Atlantic area it is the Pennsylvania cities that have failed to take part in this service, for all cities of both New York and New Jersey do participate. The low rank of the area in per capita appropriation is noteworthy also. Thus while Buffalo, Rochester, and Watertown, New York, make proportionately large appropriations, the amounts are less in New

A tabulation of appropriations for Mothers' Pensions<sup>4</sup> shows that a smaller percentage of cities set aside funds for this purpose, and except for the group of largest

<sup>3</sup> New York City's appropriation for outdoor poor relief is small; that for Mother's Pensions is large.

<sup>4</sup> Mothers' Assistance is legitimately considered a part of the public relief program. See R. W. Kelso, *The Science of Public Welfare*, (New York, 1928) pp. 206-8.

cities, there is a smaller per capita expenditure and a smaller percentage of governmental cost payments, than for outdoor relief.

Only 62 of a total of 250 cities in 1928 reported appropriations for Mothers' Pensions, 57 of a total of 247 in 1925, and 44 of a total of 219 in 1917.<sup>5</sup>

Sectionally, the Middle Atlantic States lead in per capita expenditures with New England occupying second place, the Mountain cities third, and East North Central cities fourth. The southern cities are at the bottom of the scale. In 1925 only Shreveport, Louisiana, of the 56 cities in the southern areas having a population of 30,000 or over, reported appropriations for Mothers' Pensions. In 1928 of

<sup>5</sup> 1917 is the first year in which Mothers' Pension appropriations are reported separately.

the 55 cities of the specified population only Shreveport, Richmond, and Louisville, Kentucky, gave Mothers' Pension from city funds. New England cities participate in this activity in every instance except Manchester, New Hampshire. The high per capita of the Middle Atlantic cities is due to the large appropriations of New York, and not to large numbers of cities taking part in this activity. Six of the New York's twenty cities of over 30,000 population reported funds allocated for Mothers' Pensions in 1928 and in 1925; only two of fifteen in New Jersey and two of nineteen in Pennsylvania reported likewise. Thus it appears that while the smaller cities participate in outdoor relief they have not, at least up to 1928, taken an active share in relief for widowed mothers with dependent children.

## ENGLAND'S INDUSTRIAL AND REFORMATORY SCHOOLS

EARL D. MYERS

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CORRECTIONAL education for delinquent children is one of the most difficult enterprises in child care and training. Some American students<sup>1</sup> consider the whole process of very dubious value. The records of achievement in many American training schools are not impressive. That being the case, two possible suggestions emerge as to the probable causes. One is that the essential nature of the process is unsuited to the end which the schools seek to achieve. The other is that the large measure of failure is related to matters of administration, organization, and method within the schools. The following paragraphs seek to set forth certain suggestions on the basis of a con-

sideration of factors of the second sort in relation to the correctional schools of England and Wales.

During the first six months of 1929 visits were made to a number of correctional schools in various parts of England. Numerous conversations were held with officials in the Children's Branch of the Home Office, with juvenile court justices, probation officers, and other persons familiar with the progress of correctional education during the last decade and a half. No person was encountered who did not agree that important and progressive changes have occurred during that period. The departmental committee on the treatment of young offenders, reporting in 1926, summarized the situation in the following words:

<sup>1</sup> Professor E. W. Burgess, for example.



The schools are now generally well equipped and are carrying out their difficult work with marked success. On comparing the report of the committee of 1913 with the schools as they are to-day, we recognize that the change of outlook has been fundamental. The needs of the boys and girls are no longer subordinated to those of the institution, but the scheme of education and training is such as to fit them for useful careers when they leave the school. Discipline, as in the case of all good schools, is being maintained by giving a much greater measure of freedom and responsibility to the pupils, and the new privileges are but rarely abused.

Clearly the industrial and reformatory schools of England are not as they were ten or fifteen years ago. But the question which immediately arises is that of how far this change, of which those associated with the schools are so evidently impressed, has been translated into actual achievement in terms of success records. Do these schools really re-educate, or do the boys and girls come back afterward to the courts and follow through the weary round of institutions for the criminal? The least optimistic statement concerning success which the writer encountered was in one of the industrial schools for boys where the headmaster said that the percentage of those who never came back to the courts was "over eighty, and probably about eighty-five." At Field Lane School near London, the headmaster's records showed only five per cent failure. Miss Langley, headmistress of Knowle Hill School for older girls near Kenilworth knew definitely the whereabouts of all but two of the girls released in the past six years, and only one of the entire number known had been before the courts. In the 1928 report of the Philanthropic Society's School in Surrey—England's oldest correctional school—the warden said: "I am not informed that any boy for whose after-care we are or ever have been responsible is in prison or in a Borstal Institution." The records at this school

concerning the boys both while in the school and after their release were the most complete and comprehensive in any of the schools visited.

The official figures from all of the schools in England and Wales for the five years from 1922 to 1926 inclusive indicate an enviable measure of success. Of all minors released from industrial and reformatory schools in England and Wales during this period, only 9.1 per cent were again brought before the courts up to December 31, 1927.<sup>2</sup> The older boys from the reformatory schools showed the highest percentage of failure, 13.3 per cent having again appeared before the courts. The percentage for the industrial school boys was 8.3. Among the older girls 9.1 per cent had again appeared before the courts, while among the younger girls from the industrial schools only 1.0 per cent had failed to avoid the machinery of the law.

It was an accident of history that most of the correctional schools of England and Wales are privately owned, and operated under the direction of boards of managers. In contrast to the scattered, poverty-stricken pioneer settlements of early America, the Industrial Revolution and its dramatic social consequences greeted in England a nation of landed gentry whose forebears had, for centuries, been bound by personal ties to the poor of the land. For generations, that tie had implied assistance for those in dire need and a responsibility for the welfare of the unfortunate. Therefore it was only natural that private philanthropy should turn its attention to the neglected, ragged, and sometimes desperate young delinquents in the industrial towns and cities of the early and middle nineteenth century. The names of Mary Carpenter, Matthew Davenport Hill, and

<sup>2</sup> For detailed figures see: Home Office: *Fourth Report on the Work of the Children's Branch*, November, 1928, p. 33.

Lord Shaftesbury (the "good" Lord Shaftesbury, as he is often called) are linked with the beginnings of these private residential schools for the reformation of the delinquent and the care of the neglected. About the doors, and in the corridors of some of the schools today there seem to linger the spirits of these far-visioned pioneers.

To say that most of the English correctional schools are private does not mean that they go each its own way. The principle that the offender is, by virtue of his offense and the neglected, by virtue of his guardian's offense, the responsibility of the community is too deeply ingrained in English law and English tradition for that. But the public control exercised is one of inspection and standard-setting; not of ownership and direct administration.

There are two types of residential school which are certified by the Secretary of State for Home Affairs, under the Children Act of 1908 (secs. 57, 58, 65a) for the reception of young offenders. The reformatory schools receive boys or girls between the ages of twelve and sixteen who have been convicted of an offense punishable in the case of an adult with penal servitude or imprisonment. The industrial schools receive children under fourteen who are so neglected by their parents as to be placed in a situation of "moral danger" (sec. 58, *Children Act* 1908), or who fall within one of the following categories.

1. Children under twelve charged with offenses punishable in the case of an adult by penal servitude or less punishment. (*Children Act* 1908, sec. 58 (2).)
2. Children of twelve and thirteen who have not been previously convicted and who are charged with offences punishable in the case of an adult by penal servitude or less punishment. The Court must satisfy itself that a child so committed will not exercise an evil influence over the other children at an industrial school. (*Ibid.*, sec. 58 (3).)
3. Children under fourteen beyond the control of their parents or guardians, subject to the consent of

the local authority liable for the maintenance. (*Ibid.*, sec. 58 (4); *Children Act* 1921, sec. 1 (2).)

4. Children under fourteen maintained in a workhouse or poor law school who are refractory or whose parents have been convicted. (*Children Act* 1908, sec. 58 (5).)

5. Children whose parents fail to comply with school attendance orders. (*Education Act* 1921, sec. 45; *Children Act* 1908, sec. 58 (6).)

The reformatory schools may retain jurisdiction until the young person has reached the age of nineteen, and the industrial schools till eighteen. The period actually spent in the school varies with the child, but no attempt is made in most schools to hurry children through. The period of training is, more often than not, over two years. In some cases, children are kept for four or five years. When the boy or girl is considered ready for release, the usual practice is to release under revocable license, the head of the school being responsible for after-care until the age of eighteen or nineteen is reached.

In England and Wales there are 28 reformatory schools—23 for boys and 5 for girls, and 56 industrial schools—20 for girls and 36 for boys. Of the reformatory schools, 26 are under voluntary management, while 2 of the boys' schools are under the control of local authorities. Twelve industrial schools for boys and 2 for girls are managed by local authorities. Thus, all of the schools are under the direct management of citizens in the communities in which they are located, by far the majority of them serving voluntarily. The boards of managers are composed of gentlemen and ladies in the best English sense. They are almost all persons of some wealth and social position, a few of whom on each board are certain to take their responsibilities seriously.

In contrast to the large state schools in the United States, the English institutions are small indeed. The fourth report of the work of the Children's Branch of the

Home Office, under date of November, 1928, reveals the fact that for all of the reformatory and industrial schools, the average population was 72. The reformatory schools for boys had an average of 81; the girls' reformatories, 32.6; the boys' industrial schools, 90.5; the girls' industrial schools, 42.4. Aside from the three nautical schools which are certified for 350, 200, and 200, only one Home Office School in all of England and Wales is permitted to receive more than 150 juveniles. Obviously, the relationship between the children and the staff becomes a close one when the annual receptions number only from ten to fifty.

Juveniles committed to the reformatory schools are guilty of the same sort of offences, ranging from manslaughter through rape, burglary, robbery, and larceny, to wilful damage, loitering and vagrancy, which characterize the population of American correctional schools. Approximately half of the industrial school commitments are of children who have performed acts punishable under the criminal code. They are not, therefore, an easy group to manage and to train. During the years from 1913 to 1927 when the industrial and reformatory schools were being gradually changed over from repressive, punitive institutions to educational agencies, probation was also increasing, so that the tendency was toward the commitment of more rather than less difficult cases. The growth of probation is indicated by the fact that in 1913 there were 10,414 more cases found guilty (to use the official language of the Home Office) than in 1927, while in 1927, 1,837 more were placed on probation than in 1913.<sup>3</sup>

A number of factors seem responsible for the excellent work now being carried on in the English and Welsh schools. Six

<sup>3</sup> Home Office: *Fourth Report on the Work of the Children's Branch*, Nov., 1928, p. 109.

fundamental ones are here suggested as of primary importance.

FIRST: Measures have been devised and put into effect for insuring the correctional schools against the failures and inadequacies of the methods they were designed to supplant, viz., the methods of the prison. This has been accomplished by a rather simple, but fruitful device,—that of erecting a competent, non-political inspectional staff with power to refuse certification when schools do not measure up to the standards recognized as essential to good educational work. Certification involves two things, the right to receive children committed by the courts and the receipt of funds from the local authorities and the Exchequer to pay all maintenance costs.

Every person who has read the report of the 1913 committee or Mary Barnett's *Young Delinquents* knows that the methods of confinement and the infliction of physical discomfort, which are the essential disciplinary devices of the old prison, were very freely employed in the not distant past. True, corporal punishment has not entirely disappeared. The occasional "caning" of English school boys is invested with a sort of half holy tradition. No boy's schooling is complete without it. Therefore, rather than an unqualified abolition of the cane, the inspectors have chosen to limit its use to a very modest maximum. The "birch," a bundle of small birch whips bound together, can no longer be used in the schools, though it is still occasionally ordered by some of the juvenile courts in England. Very light bamboo canes may be used. To insure uniformity, and to be certain that no headmaster has recourse to a heavier bludgeon, the canes are supplied to all of the schools by the Home Office, after which every encouragement is given to the headmasters not to use them. When used, no child

under fourteen may be given more than six strokes and no child over fourteen, more than eight, except by special permission from one member of the board of managers, in which case as many as twelve may be given. This provisional rule is only a half humorous concession to those who believe the cane to be a very potent instrument of correction. The heads of the seven schools visited by the writer found it difficult to imagine themselves petitioning a board of managers for the privilege of laying four extra licks on to the body of a misbehaving youngster. They were equally unanimous in their enthusiasm for other methods of discipline and control—positive methods of directing interest toward crafts, sport, drawing and designing, gardening, etc. The most frequent use of the cane was reported by the headmaster of one of the industrial schools for boys, with a population of about 120. In the thirteen weeks from January 1 to March 31, 1928, eight canings were given.

**SECOND:** This same vigorous, intelligent staff of inspectors discharges an exceedingly important function in its constant watchfulness over the activities of the schools. They serve as a permanently functioning body of specialists in touch with the situation in all of the schools, so that if it appears either that the management is incompetent, the facilities inadequate, or the law faulty, they are in a position to take either direct action in raising standards, or only slightly less direct action in requesting legislative remedy through the presentation of a departmental bill to Parliament.

**THIRD:** The personnel of the staff of the schools, both headmaster or headmistress and subordinate members are either appointed or approved by the boards of managers. In view of the character of the boards, this is, in itself, an almost certain guarantee that persons of integrity and

character will be chosen. Coupled with this is again the assistance of the inspectors whose training and practice make them able to detect inadequacies in personal fitness which boards of managers might overlook or consider unimportant.

**FOURTH:** A great deal of attention has been given to the problem of the limits which must be set in order that a residential school may successfully mould the character of the boys and girls sent to it. Four things have come to be considered of primary importance. The first is the size of the unit, the second the range of experience included in the group, the third the possibility of removing from the group members who become centers of infection for the rest of the group, and the fourth the matter of assistance in adjustment upon release. The English schools have coped with these four factors rather happily, though not yet with entire satisfaction to the heads of the Children's Branch and other leaders of thought in the field. In the first place, the Children Act of 1908 definitely divided the schools into four groups on the basis of age, sex, and experience. Therefore, the child of twelve and under is not in constant contact with the more mature delinquent of seventeen or eighteen, whose experiences and attitudes differ so completely. A proposal is under consideration for still further classification on the basis of less artificial criteria than age and sex. In the second place, the abundance of schools prepared to receive children from the juvenile courts, combined with the steadily decreasing numbers of children coming before the courts made it very easy to cut down upon the numbers for which the schools are certified. Thus the large schools have, in some instances, been reduced to half or less than half of their former numbers. In the third place, transfer of children is possible, both to institutions for defectives under the Mental



Deficiency Act, and to other industrial and reformatory schools by informal arrangement between headmasters in cases in which unhappy and difficult situations have arisen, centering in one or more of the group and seriously affecting the group. Measures are at present under consideration for further facilitating transfers. Finally, the boy or girl is kept under the school's supervision for a sufficiently long period after release—in most cases two to three years—to make possible a rather stable adjustment. This supervisory work is now in the hands of the heads of the schools. There is some discussion of the advisability of a special staff for after-care work. Thus far, the disadvantages, in view of the relatively small number each headmaster or headmistress is responsible for, have seemed to outweigh the advantages of the special staff.

FIFTH: The English schools have been quite completely removed from the possibility of partisan political manipulation. Nobody, unless it be in the handful of schools under local government authorities, can seek or secure a position in any of the schools as a reward for helping elect anybody. The complete freedom from this all too common American malady is amazingly refreshing.

SIXTH: The English schools have, without, for the most part, invoking the psychologist or psychiatrist, evolved a mentally hygienic atmosphere where quite difficult cases find adjustment. This does not mean that the professional services of psychologist and psychiatrist could not be exceedingly helpful. It merely means that in the larger number of schools, the kind of relationships and outlets which the psychiatrist so frequently advises, have been provided. In the school, among those visited by the writer, in which the best work from every standpoint seemed to be done, the headmaster gives a great deal of attention to the psychological

problems of the boys. Though he is not a clinician, he has done a great deal of reading and of observation in relation to the wisdom of the psychology books. For several years he had on the staff a young man, who was trained in clinical psychology. If, into the already highly commendable program of the schools, the services of skilled professional people were to be introduced, the percentage of failure might, conceivably, be quite considerably lessened, though present percentages will seem to American students and administrators very low.

One of the most cherished theories of the present generation concerning the treatment of delinquents is the "last resort" theory—i.e., that no child should be committed to an institution for delinquents except when all other measures have failed. The achievements of the English correctional schools have given the staff of the Children's Branch courage to call this theory very seriously into question. And they have, without doubt, a genuine measure of soundness in their favor. The "last resort" theory is based, fundamentally, upon a glaring fallacy in logic. It rests on the belief that training in a residential school is bad for a child, unless the child, indeed, be very, very bad, but that, on the other hand, it must be the most effective form of training known, because it is to be reserved for those in whose cases all other methods have failed. The present staff of inspectors is therefore encouraging the magistrates to commit to the schools those who seem to need training very badly, and, as well, those who seem likely to become vastly more useful—not just non-delinquent—by virtue of a period of carefully planned education in a residential school. They are, in short, saying: "Our schools are not *bad* places where *bad* children are to be sent for rigorous discipline, but good schools where genuine education is undertaken."



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## THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### THE COMMUNITY INSTITUTE

#### PLANNING FOR CULTURAL INTEGRATION

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IT IS an axiom of educational theory that our interests are shaped and our abilities developed by the multifarious activities in which we share, not primarily by school or other educational institution. The latter, while having their vital functions, take their place in the total educational process along with the home, the vocation, the press and other agencies that claim our time and attention. The home and the vocation, not the school and the church, are the *basic* educational influences, judging by the range and nature of the interests that center in them.

This is reflected in the curricula of the schools themselves. Along with the "tool" subjects essential to educational achievement of any sort, major emphasis is placed on subjects deemed contributory, directly or indirectly, to preparation for a vocation or for home-making. Even the latter is taught as a vocation, since courses in it are designed for girls whose vocation it is likely to be. Yet the schools are devoting more and more attention to training in science, in citizenship, in music, literature and other forms of art, recognizing that, potentially, these are highly significant avocational interests, and there-

fore properly to be fostered through curricular as well as extra-curricular activities.

The emphasis, however, is still on vocational proficiency as an educational objective. Vocational interests are still more strongly emphasized by the adult community. This is due, in both school and community, to the fact that American social organization as a whole is fundamentally economic in character. We all function primarily as producers of wares or services for the market, and as buyers or consumers of these commodities. This producing-consuming, buying-selling scheme of life extends even to intellectual, aesthetic, and political interests. It goes with a type of specialist-layman relationship that is becoming ever more pervasive. The tendency is to restrict the initiative and activity of the individual to a narrow sector of a specialized productive process, whereby he procures such pecuniary income as he can, which he spends in the satisfaction of wants catered to by an army of specialists like himself, whose wares he perforce accepts passively and, to a large degree, uncritically.

The rôle of commercial enterprise in this scheme is crucial. The earnings of a busi-

ness or industrial concern depend, other things being equal, on its success in competing with similar concerns for a share of the consumer's dollar. Not only do manufacturers and dealers in the same class of commodities compete with one another, but cigarettes compete with candy, and the car with clothing and even food for the table. Virtually all must engage in advertising and high-powered salesmanship, or go out of business. Though these efforts largely nullify each other, so far as differential advantages are concerned, none dare neglect them. But their combined influence in shaping the tastes, interests, and ideals of the consumer can scarcely be overestimated. In fact, commercial enterprise as a whole subjects the consumer (which means everybody) to an intensive, relentless process of education, whose teachings he largely accepts, because there are but feeble counteractive influences emanating from the school, church, and other non-commercial agencies. What it teaches him, though without actually conspiring to do so, is that human welfare consists mainly in the greatest possible consumption of commercial commodities, not in the cultivation of interests and powers that may not be expressed in terms of market values.

The process of producing and marketing goods is such as to foster a receptive, uncritical attitude on the part of the consumer. Goods are offered ready-made for his acceptance or rejection. He has nothing to do with their design or production save as his purchases indicate where his choices are likely to fall. He has no sources of reliable information as to their qualities, or the prices that may fairly be charged for them. Above all he has no scheme of life that subordinates their possession and consumption to the status of means instead of elevating it to an end in itself. He literally *buys* a large share of

his gratifications, not realizing that the deeper, richer satisfactions of life must be achieved through his own activity, to which commercial commodities can be only instrumental.

But these things are largely true also of services supplied by professional specialists or by non-commercial agencies. The patient is a passive recipient of the physician's treatment, the client of his attorney's services, the churchgoer of his pastor's ministrations, the pupil (and his parent) of the teacher's instruction, and likewise with other public or professional services. The layman's initiative is largely restricted in all these instances to a choice of specialists, and carrying out their instructions. Little knowledge and initiative on the layman's part is presupposed by the specialist serving him. When the layman does proffer more active coöperation, the results are often unfortunate due to his limited understanding, as in the intervention of taxpayers in the control of the schools.

It may be submitted, in appraising this system, that active coöperation between producer and consumer, specialist and layman, is essential if a highly specialized economy such as ours is to realize its highest possibilities. The intelligent collaboration of the patient in dealing with his own health problems is essential to the best results of medical treatment; well-informed efforts on the part of parents in shaping educational policy is essential to the best service of the public schools, and likewise with relationships between specialist and layman in every field. The same principle applies to producer-consumer relationships. The place of cars and radios and other commodities in a rational scheme of life must be appreciated by the consumer before he can be properly served by the manufacturer and the merchant.

The want of active, intelligent coöperation on the part of the consumer and the layman is due, of course, to many factors. The one most significant for those interested in repairing the defect would seem to be this: With the development of large-scale production and division of labor in general, resulting as it did in the delegation to specialists, or producers for the market, of services formerly performed by the individual for himself or supplied by others closely associated with him, it was not recognized that if production was to be primarily in the interest of the consumer, he had to be educated in and perhaps organized to protect his interests *as* a consumer. Otherwise he was sure to be manipulated by the producer in the *producer's* own interests, not those of the consumer himself. When the earlier organic connection between production and consumption was dissolved, an integral process of education was broken up; the vocation assured a continuation of education for production, but no correlative agency was evolved to provide education for consumption. Production is for the purpose of consumption; and, however competent and highly trained the producer may be, if consumption itself is incompetent, uneducated, the result can scarcely be satisfactory. This is of momentous significance, considering the fact that our system of highly trained and organized producers, on the one hand, and of untrained and unorganized consumers or laymen on the other hand, extends not only to ordinary commercial commodities and professional services, but also to politics, music, drama, literature, and a great variety of leisure-time activities. The citizen, for instance, is as helpless and incompetent compared with the professional politician as is the ignorant, gullible housewife compared with the high-

powered salesman of a gadget for the kitchen or the bathroom.

This brings us back to the school and what follows the school in the career of the individual. The training applicable in the later vocation, whatever it may be, is carried further through the activities and experiences of the vocation itself. There is no sharp break between the school and the job, so far as this phase of training is concerned. There is a sharp break—indeed, a slump—in training for avocational interests—for citizenship, for appreciation of and possible creative work in the arts, for participation in genuine intellectual interests. The individual may persevere in such things, if he has the interest and the initiative, but for the most part only *as* an individual. Workers of all sorts are organized and have plenty to do—save when the business cycle turns downward—, but not so citizens, or lovers of the arts, or students of science or philosophy. There is no institution to continue the work of the school in these matters, as the job continues such vocational training as the school may have afforded. The manufacturer, the merchant, the politician, the newspaper owner, the broadcaster, the physician, the lawyer, are not interested in carrying forward the work of the school, because they want complaisant customers and plenty of them, and these are not secured by training them to be critical and coöperative in promoting their interests *as* customers. Besides, the producer or specialist is not equipped, under present conditions, to offer such training, even if he desired to do so. Organized efforts directed to this specific purpose, and organically related to practical undertakings, are essential.

There are grounds for the belief that, under skilled leadership, an institution could gradually be developed that would



do for the layman and consumer something analogous to what is done for the specialist and the producer by his vocation—an institution that would continue the work of the school in the cultivation of civic, intellectual, aesthetic, and other avocational interests and in the provision of opportunities for their practical expression. There has been much incisive criticism of American civilization in recent years, not a little of it centering in these issues. The opportunity, even the necessity, for adult education is widely recognized, and significant experiments in this field are now under way. A great number and variety of men's and women's clubs are concerned with serious avocational interests. Many civic and social work organizations, both local and national, are recruiting sizeable lay constituencies. The National League of Women Voters is attempting with growing success to organize the woman citizen for the systematic study and practical treatment of public questions. The little theatre movement is flourishing vigorously despite the competition of commercialized drama. Broadcasting of musical programs has not killed the interest in community bands and orchestras. Finally, the community center idea persists, despite discouragements, and finds expression in a variety of ways.

While many such efforts are intelligently conceived and directed, others lack definite goals and are often unrelated to the more vital practical interests of their participants. All of them combined do not constitute an effective attack on the problems here indicated. A more critical and comprehensive view of these problems, of the difficulties that must be faced, and the resources that may be utilized in dealing with them, is essential to such a program.

A program of this character will entail the development of an essentially new

social institution, though, as indicated, there are tendencies, beginnings, that may be utilized in its construction. Indeed, the strategy of the undertaking will consist to no small degree in integrating these potential contributions, initiating similar activities in fields as yet largely untouched, and gradually enlarging the program to embrace all the vital interests of the consumer and the layman that need continuous, systematic guidance.

The new institution will be comparable in importance with the public school, functioning for the adult in somewhat the same ways as the school functions for the child. Indeed, it will be a school of adults, for by its means they will engage in the study of their vital interests and problems. It will, of course, be a voluntary association, and in that quite unlike the schools for children. In addition, it will have characteristics of the social club, being composed of persons sharing in the same interests; and of the civic organization, being engaged in the promotion of practical measures; and of the church at its best, its members being consecrated to a quest for the good life, both for themselves and the community at large.

Such an institution should be differentiated in two vital respects from previous experiments in the same direction. First, it will be based on the assumption that the interests of laymen and consumers are quite as important in a rational scheme of life as are the interests of specialists and producers—in other words, that avocational interests are quite as significant as are vocational ones; that the two sets of interests are complementary and that neither may be uncultivated nor unorganized without vitiating the other. It follows that the avocational interests—those of consumers, citizens, and other categories of laymen—demand a substantial portion of our time and attention for their proper

cultivation and expression, perhaps as much in the long run (though one cannot pronounce dogmatically on this point) as do vocational interests. Second, instead of attempting at the outset to leaven the masses with the new ideals and purposes, it will start with the small minority who already share in them, who will readily recognize the challenge and respond to the opportunities it offers. It will base its initial programs on the interests of this minority, but broaden them and draw in the remainder of the community, as opportunity permits. There is little doubt that leadership for the initial effort is to be found in a great many, perhaps in a majority, of our local communities. The success such efforts might achieve could, of course, scarcely be forecast, in a particular case, in advance of actual experiment.

Assuming that personnel for the pioneer effort will be available, and that programs of activity may be undertaken that will be cumulative in their appeal to the more thoughtful elements of the community, certain interests already developed might serve as a basis for enlarging the program and the membership of the institution. Taking the civic side first, a number of people may be found in the average community, particularly the urban community, who are more or less actively interested in local community problems—in better provision for underprivileged persons, in development of the public health service, in improvement of housing conditions for the lower income groups, in more wholesome recreational facilities, and the like.

On the aesthetic side, there is a growing interest in domestic architecture, in interior decoration, in landscape gardening, in amateur drama, in the appreciation of music, literature, and other forms of art, besides the perennial and universal interest in dress and many other things of daily use

now so largely exploited by commercial enterprise.

All these interests are at the same time intellectual ones, or capable of becoming such. In addition, parents' interest in their children, in the schools they attend, in other conditions affecting their welfare is a potential intellectual interest of far-reaching scope and significance. Vocational interests may lead to the intellectual life as readily as any others. They are, of course, bound up with history, economics, politics, social organization as a whole, and, indeed, in one way or another with the entire range of contemporary scientific thought. Even were there but little love of learning for its own sake, these multifarious interests might serve as effective motivations for a diversified program of adult study, in which a large portion of the community might eventually share.

In addition to the more mature members of the community that might be drawn to the program by capitalizing such interests, there must be a good many high-school and college graduates (no one, of course, can more than guess at the number) who would welcome opportunities for the continued cultivation of avocational interests developed through their curricular and extra-curricular activities. These interests gradually fade away at the present time because opportunities for their further cultivation and expression are inadequate, indeed almost lacking altogether. There are, of course, many individual exceptions. But there are not the civic, intellectual and aesthetic interests of the kind and extent in the average community to furnish adequate opportunities for further developments along these lines, or to compete at all effectively with commercialized interests for the time and attention of the high-school or college graduate. Except for a few gifted individuals they offer no real alternative to the producing-consuming,

buying-selling scheme of life that dominates American civilization.

By capitalizing these avocational interests of adults, carrying forward the achievements of the schools along the same lines, utilizing to the fullest the potential leadership that may be available for these purposes, drawing together and integrating activities already organized that might be woven into this program, the interests of the citizen as against the politician, of the consumer as against the entrepreneur, of the layman or amateur as against the specialist may gradually be given their proper place in our scheme of life and eventually correct the extreme commercialistic and specialistic emphasis in American civilization. As local undertakings are developed and multiplied, their coördination on a regional and national basis may be effected, so far as expedient. This will, naturally, be most urgent in the case of civic programs transcending the limits of the local community. State, national, and international problems can thus be attacked that local communities as such could not cope with.

All the relevant findings of the social and psychological sciences will need to be applied in the planning and direction of these programmatic activities, particularly in order that they may compete effectively with the types of avocational interests now dominant. As the program develops, the services of experts will be increasingly utilized, and eventually a professional leadership, selected and trained for the work, will need to be recruited.

The more, however, potential leadership within the ranks of the membership is developed and utilized the more effectively will the distinctive purposes of the undertaking be realized, since its primary object will be to create a medium for the cultivation and self-expression of the layman and the amateur, as such.

This means that, however selective may be the membership of the institution, it must be essentially democratic in spirit, always keeping the door open to those wishing to share in its purposes and activities. It means, also, that it must be entirely autonomous, keeping itself independent of political or other external control. This implies that forms of organization and methods of financing must be such as to minimize the danger of the institution falling under the domination of any special class or interest.

As local organizations of this sort grow they will need to be appropriately housed. Public school buildings will scarcely be suitable for this purpose. They will not have all the facilities nor the peculiar "atmosphere" that will be requisite to the best results. Superficially and to a large degree actually, the new institution will be much like a club with its own commodious, comfortable quarters. There will be an auditorium adapted both to public meetings and to the performances of little theatre groups and community orchestras, bands or choruses; a number of smaller rooms suitable for study groups or committee meetings; perhaps laboratories for science study and studios for art work; reading and lounging rooms; a restaurant for the service of luncheon and dinner groups and the accommodation of patrons generally—with the plant as a whole not only providing facilities for the various activities, but symbolizing, in its design, its setting and its arrangements, the civic, intellectual, and aesthetic ideals to which it would be consecrated.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The civic features of the projected experiment have been discussed at length in *The New Citizenship* (Crowell, 1929); and certain of the economic questions involved have been considered in a paper entitled "Collectivism and the Consumer," *Annals of Collective Economy*, September-December, 1930, pp. 293-343. Studies of other features are now in progress.

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## CONTROL OF COMMUNITY OPINION

## A CASE STUDY OF A MEANS OF AVERTING BANK FAILURES

ETHEL M. DEWSBURY

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ON SEPTEMBER 2, 1931, the Parkway Trust Company in Philadelphia closed its doors because of a "gradual seepage of deposits" and in order to "protect its depositors."<sup>1</sup> On September 29, the Northern Central Trust Company was closed by order of the State Banking Department because of a "slow seepage of deposits." This bank had five branches in various parts of the city. October 2, the Main Line Bank in Wayne closed. Numerous withdrawals were cited as the cause of the closing.<sup>2</sup> From this time, the hysteria and panic added momentum to the movement until there were few days when the papers did not carry notice of the closing of some bank. On October 3, three banks within the city limits were closed. The action in each case was taken to conserve deposits. Withdrawals had been stimulated by the closing of adjacent banks. The Olney Bank and Trust Company had two branches, the Manheim one, and the Jefferson none. The effect of these closings on public opinion was increased several times in the case of banks having branch associations, for different communities were subjected to the stimuli arising from one closing.<sup>3</sup>

The following week fifteen banks closed, two of which were private banks. In every case, hysteria, seepage of deposits, lack of confidence as the psychological effect of other failures, and the necessity for protection of deposits were given as the causes. Between October 14 and December 1, there were four bank failures,

one of which was a private banking company. The total number of such failures in the metropolitan area reached nearly fifty, not counting the twenty-one branches of the Bankers Trust Company, or the smaller numbers of branches of numerous other closed banks. Meanwhile the agencies and organizations were gathering their forces to make concerted efforts to reassure the public.

That conditions were considered serious is evidenced by the fact that special notices were made in the papers of Columbus Day closing for the legal holiday, since notices in general proved to be a "bug-a-boo" to the public.<sup>4</sup> Any sign was assumed to be a notice of closing. The influential forces of the community were mobilized to attempt to combat the menace. On October 3, the Philadelphia Clearing House Association and five mutual savings banks passed a resolution to enforce their rule requiring thirty days' notice for withdrawals of savings accounts. This rule had been adopted by the banks some time before, but, during the "boom era," enforcement had been suspended or modified to two weeks' or ten days' notice.<sup>5</sup>

All efforts were bent to the task of emphasizing the fact that this was not a new rule brought on by a serious condition, but merely the enforcement of an old one as a preventive measure.<sup>6</sup> Mr. George W. Norris, Governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, approved the ruling, and, in a statement to the papers, condemned the practice of allowing with-

<sup>1</sup> *Morning Ledger*, September 3, 1931.

<sup>2</sup> *Record*.

<sup>3</sup> *Morning Ledger*, October 4, 1931.

<sup>4</sup> All papers, October 11, 12, 1931.

<sup>5</sup> *Record*, October 4, 1931.

<sup>6</sup> *Bulletin*, October 5.



drawals without sufficient notice as unsound banking practice. He stated that this reform was a real corrective step in the interest of banks and depositors, and contended that it is impossible for financial institutions to function properly without requiring notice of withdrawals. Deposits are made with that understanding. In consideration of this an especially high rate of interest is allowed on savings accounts. Deposits of the banks are invested in such securities as cannot be liquidated immediately.<sup>7</sup> Joseph Wayne, Jr., President of the Philadelphia Clearing House Association, assailed the present period of hysteria and unreasoning fear as the responsible factor in the closing of numerous neighborhood banks.<sup>8</sup> The Clearing House provided for an organized campaign consisting of both newspaper advertising and publicity. Poster advertising was eliminated because of the bad psychological effect it had on the public.

The newspaper advertisements stressed the economic results of fear and hysteria while the publicity campaign had for its theme an appeal to the civic and patriotic feeling and the element of fear involved. The advertising was done not only through the customary channels, but took the form of news items containing warnings or any cheering events such as the payment of a certain percentage of the deposits or improving business conditions, statements of prominent men and of agencies. The advertisements appeared at regular intervals with no limit set as to their duration. They were published in all papers, especially the foreign language journals. This was done because the foreign element is very susceptible to rumor and hysteria<sup>9</sup>—perhaps, after the failure of the Bank of

the United States in New York, not without much justification.

The Clearing House Association sponsored the campaign in order to give the impression that it was emanating from an impartial source and was therefore to be relied upon.

This was the first organized attempt which was made to influence public opinion to prevent panic. Official recognition of the fact that banks had been failing spasmodically for several weeks seemed to attract attention, not only of other organizations of public character and of officials, but of the depositors themselves.

Mr. George W. Norris gave a radio address pleading with the depositors to allow their funds to remain in the local banks. He made a very detailed and simplified explanation of the financial situation. He asserted that the greatest injury was being inflicted on the depositors by their own actions. The welfare of business depends on the belief in the integrity of the banks. Lack of confidence would result in unemployment and depression. Merchants must be supplied with credit in order to carry on operations. The banks are the instrumentalities through which they must obtain the credit. He became eloquent on the consequences of allowing the "wheels of industry" to freeze from lack of the "oil" of currency. He explained that the results of the runs on banks would be liquidation of bonds at a loss or the closing of the institutions. In dull periods, credit is even more necessary than in periods of prosperity. Most Philadelphia banks are old and well-managed and there should be little cause for fear.<sup>10</sup>

Conditions in Philadelphia were pos-

<sup>7</sup> *Record*, October 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Morning Ledger*, October 4.

<sup>9</sup> Doremus & Company—Advertising Agency.

<sup>10</sup> *Record*, October 7; *Morning Ledger*, October 7.

sibly the cause of the formulation of the plan first considered by President Hoover of financing real estate mortgages. This plan contemplated the formation of banks financed by members with the power to discount mortgages and issue debentures in order to liquidate frozen assets, facilitate building, and take banks out of the real estate field.

It was reported that the gravity of the situation in Philadelphia caused President Hoover to send Mr. Eugene Meyer, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, to the city to review the conditions and attempt to arrive at some solution. The Hoover Plan for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation resulted, in part at least, from this situation. The purpose of this corporation, to which General Charles G. Dawes was appointed as head, was to assist in the liquidation of the closed banks.<sup>11</sup>

A motion of confidence in the plan was made by twenty-two local financial, educational, and religious leaders. The names of such men as President Thomas S. Gates of the University of Pennsylvania, Cardinal Daugherty, Mr. Samuel Vaclain of the Baldwin Locomotive Company, Mayor Harry A. Mackey and Mr. Cyrus H. K. Curtis were included. The accompanying message explained the lack of wisdom of hoarding, which tended to aggravate the existing conditions. Citizens of the city were called on to maintain confidence in the city, its financial institutions and industries as essential to the welfare and happiness of its inhabitants.<sup>12</sup>

National leaders representing local interests also lent their approval to the plan. The names of Senator Vandenburg of Michigan, Representative Crisp of Georgia, and Mr. Alfred E. Smith of New York,

were included in the list of political leaders, as well as that of Mr. William Green of the American Federation of Labor.<sup>13</sup>

The efforts of these national and city leaders were emulated by the group leaders within the communities. Business interests in all sections of the city united to "fight hysteria" and "vicious gossip." The Secretary of Banking, William D. Gordon, announced his intention of prosecuting to the full extent of the law those who circulated false rumors.

The Northeast Business Men's Association, American Legion, and the Bankers' Association passed resolutions of confidence. The Northeast Business Men's Association planned a door-to-door campaign, circulation of pamphlets and posters, and radio talks to stamp out fear. The Mount Airy and Chestnut Hill Business Men's Associations passed resolutions of faith in the banks. Prominent manufacturers of the city such as Henry S. Disston of the Henry S. Disston & Sons Company, manufacturers of tools, planned to allow funds to remain in the local banks and to persuade their employees to do so. Politicians and ward leaders used their eloquence to urge "union to fight the new menace."<sup>14</sup> Rabbi Fineshriber made a radio address urging the wisdom of leaving deposits in the banks.<sup>15</sup> A clergyman in Manayunk gave a sermon on the same subject and a group of clergymen unanimously agreed to use<sup>16</sup> their pulpits in the effort to calm the fears of the public.

An appeal was made by Major Lemuel B. Schofield, Director of Public Safety, to awaken the citizens to the dangers of robbery. He declared that the police pro-

<sup>13</sup> *Inquirer*, October 9.

<sup>14</sup> *Record*, October 7; *Morning Ledger*, October 6; *Bulletin*, October 6.

<sup>15</sup> *Record*, October 10.

<sup>16</sup> *Inquirer*, October 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Morning Ledger*, September 19.

<sup>12</sup> *Record*, October 8.

tection would be inadequate if money were to be hidden at home. Several cases of robbery which did occur, were given wide publicity in the newspapers, as warnings to the public.<sup>17</sup> Seven American Legion Posts in the northern section of the city placarded the sections of Tioga, Oak Lane, Germantown, and Chestnut Hill with the plea to have faith in the institutions. Stress was laid on the need of the same coöperation which existed during the World War.<sup>18</sup> As an evidence of good faith, the American Legion abandoned a project for the erection of a \$40,000 home in order to allow the money to remain in the local banks.<sup>19</sup>

The new president of the Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Richard J. Hamilton, outlined the aims of the convention of the Women's Club leaders. She appealed to the sixty thousand members to do all in their power to aid recovery.<sup>20</sup>

The depositors themselves began to take measures for their own protection. Plans to permit the reorganization and reopening of the banks were drawn up.<sup>21</sup> Depositors of the Bankers' Trust Company, the largest of the closed banks, secured from the legislature an amendment to the state banking law that would permit a reorganization, but it proved to be impossible to take advantage of the privileges afforded by the act. Another plan of this kind was evolved by the depositors of the County Trust Company and its seven branch banks. A bank moratorium was proposed to allow more prompt reopening. The depositors waived the right of withdrawal and interest for a period of six months. Depositors of other banks were invited to participate in a discussion of the plan

which was endorsed by the Business Men's Association.<sup>22</sup>

The depositors of the Olney Bank and Trust Company held a mass meeting under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce of Northeast Philadelphia, and conducted by a Lutheran minister of the community.<sup>23</sup> The same waiver was agreed to by a large majority of the members through a system of pledges signed and returned. Congratulations were received by the depositors on their wise action from Gifford Pinchot, Governor of the Commonwealth, and from Harry A. Mackey, Mayor of the city at the time. Similar meetings were held by the depositors of the Richmond Trust in the Polish American Club, with the priest of the Polish Catholic Church as spokesman for<sup>24</sup> the depositors, and by those of the Jefferson and Northwestern Trust Companies. The plans thus formulated were submitted to the State Secretary of Banking for approval.<sup>25</sup>

Federal authorities sought for gossips who were reported to have been circulating rumors about the national banks. One report was made that the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia was closed. Agents of the government were posted there, in Atlantic City, and in Ocean City. An Ardmore man was arrested and prosecuted as a rumor-monger.<sup>26</sup>

The Philadelphia newspapers carried in their editorial pages comments justifying the Clearing House action and proving it to be rational. They contained reassurances as to the stability of the financial structure. Portions of the most representative of these follow.

Coöperation of the State Secretary of Banking, the Comptroller of the Currency,

<sup>17</sup> *Record*, October 6; *Morning Ledger*, October 10.

<sup>18</sup> *Inquirer*, October 14.

<sup>19</sup> *Record*, October 12.

<sup>20</sup> *Inquirer*, October 16.

<sup>21</sup> *Record*, October 10.

<sup>22</sup> *Record*, October 9.

<sup>23</sup> *Record*, October 10; *Inquirer*, October 10.

<sup>24</sup> *Record*, October 10.

<sup>25</sup> *Morning Ledger*, October 11.

<sup>26</sup> *Record*, October 10.

and the Federal Reserve System should be of mutual advantage. These agencies should have factual information at their command in order to maintain stability. Banks should carry bonds at market value but should provide for depreciation. A plan for rating banks for examination was compiled which would provide frequency of examination in inverse proportion to the ability of its management. This also included a system for writing-off depreciation.<sup>27</sup>

The American Bankers' Association affirmed its faith in the financial structure. The policy committee asserted that American credit was the strongest in the world and that American money was the soundest. The indomitable spirit of the American people and the will to conquer should carry the country through the depression. We have had depressions before and probably shall again. It was stated that the curse of the United States at the time was the reckless pessimist who never took into consideration the vast resources that are ours. The United States could not be kept down. Fear was retarding complete recovery under existing conditions. We had witnessed the working of fear fed by whispers and rumors here in this city. The whisperer, the rumor-monger, had in instances, brought grief to financial institutions. The bankers' committee realized not only the insanity, but the dire effects of the actions of the person whom it called the bank slanderer. It called for vigorous enforcement of the bank slander laws. The difficulty was to identify the authors.<sup>28</sup>

As a whole, banking institutions had met the situation ably, and it was thought that they would continue to do so. The need was for optimism, not pessimism; for faith instead of fear. The United States,

it was stated, is too big and too progressive to give way to the depression that was international. Under the leadership of President Hoover, the back of industry, of banking, of orderly business was bending to the task of coöperative rehabilitation. There was every reason to believe that it would succeed.<sup>29</sup>

Down with pessimism; up with optimism. We had clearly in sight the elements of business and industrial recovery. It remained for the community to utilize those elements. Our people should regain confidence in themselves and in the underlying strength of our American institutions.

Thus spoke Thomas W. Lamont. He recognized that there was no "royal road" to recovery but, in a state of unreasonable apprehension, recovery would never arrive. It was high time, once and for all, for us to take counsel not of our fears but of our reason. Altogether too many people were ignoring the underlying soundness of the American situation. Pessimism was being carried to unreasoning and fantastic depths.

Pessimism produced fear—fear of loss of employment, fear that one's savings would be swept away, fear to purchase needed articles. With fear overcome, prosperity would return. Hoover's plan was designed to overcome this fear. People were advised not to hoard, to buy what they could afford, to be reasonable, and to have faith.<sup>30</sup>

The Philadelphia newspapers were most diligent crusaders in attempting to allay the fears of the public through constructive criticism as well as through academic exhortation. Some of the points brought forward in the articles are included here.

Only four-fifths of one per cent of the total deposits throughout the country

<sup>27</sup> *Morning Ledger*, October 7.

<sup>28</sup> *Inquirer*, October 7.

<sup>29</sup> *Inquirer*, October 7.

<sup>30</sup> *Inquirer*, October 10.



from January to September were affected by the closings. More than one half of these would be released when the banks were liquidated. Under the circumstances, conditions were not bad. Because failures were unusual, they were more noticeable. The banks of Philadelphia were sound, and honestly and efficiently managed. The great menace was in gossip, timidity, and hysteria. It was pointed out that the relation between depositors and the bank was a double obligation, and that it was the duty of the depositors to stand back of the banks. The Clearing House Association used conservative and sound judgment in enforcing its ruling.<sup>31</sup>

In a later issue, this item appeared.

The promise for the future in hoarding, although it was harmful at the time, lay in the fact that once the psychology changed, the stores of money hoarded would be released at once. The savings of the day constituted reserve funds for tomorrow.<sup>32</sup>

The *Record* then offered a new idea as a method of dispelling financial gloom. Helping the depositor of closed banks was proposed as an excellent way of restoring confidence and of stimulating retail trade. Little could be gained by scolding the timid souls who had taken money out of the banks, and nothing had been done for the courageous who left their money in and lost it. In nine months one hundred million dollars in deposits were tied up by the closings of twenty-nine banks in Philadelphia and the vicinity. Little money was paid to depositors because of lengthy and cumbersome legal proceedings.<sup>33</sup> A plan was suggested (which was adopted later by Secretary Gordon, a member of the Hoover Liquidating Committee) to

expedite the liquidation of the closed banks. General W. W. Atterbury suggested that an extra session of the legislature to enlarge the rediscount power of the banks would be beneficial. Ten per cent payment would relieve the distress. This plan drew praise from all sides as a practical solution.<sup>34</sup> A discussion of the probable effects of this plan followed.

Unity, coherent planning, and consolidation of resources turned the tide of the World War. These were overcoming fear in the financial situation. Management by its intelligence, vigilance, and foresight was rebuilding confidence. Consolidations were not to be feared. Coöperation in the strengthening of the Integrity Trust Company, a large institution seriously threatened by a run, showed the possibilities of integrated purpose. Intelligence and unified self-interest could not help but inspire confidence and like spirit in the people.<sup>35</sup>

Banking reconstruction had begun with the support by the State Secretary of Banking of the plan suggested by the *Record*. The next step consisted of a campaign for more general knowledge about the situation. An editorial appeared, entitled "Tell the Public the Facts About the Banks." It was contended that the lack of frankness had shaken public confidence. The public wanted to know the condition of banks and the reasons for the closings, the paper asserted. Were they caused by a seepage of small deposits, or the withdrawal of large deposits through concerted effort? Were they ethical? There had been too much scolding, too little truth. Faith would be restored quickly by taking the public into confidence.<sup>36</sup>

The *Record* urged that fewer banks means stronger banks. It is necessary to have

<sup>31</sup> *Record*, October 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Record*, October 12.

<sup>33</sup> *Record*, October 12.

<sup>34</sup> *Record*, October 11.

<sup>35</sup> *Record*, October 14.

<sup>36</sup> *Record*, October 15.

stricter banking laws. The specific suggestions made were:

1. The number of banks should be limited according to population.
2. Federal and State Banks should be coordinated.
3. Directors of banks should not be allowed to borrow from the institution without approval of the banking department.
4. Bank building and furniture carried on the books should not be more than 10 per cent of capital and surplus.
5. Interest rates should be fixed by State Banking Department.
6. Security company operated by bank should be considered part of that bank.
7. One officer of each bank should be a trained broker.
8. Cost of examination of banks should be paid by the banks themselves.
9. Half of the earnings of banks above 8 per cent should go into surplus to cover lean years.<sup>37</sup>

The next article urged the publication of the findings of the investigation of banking practices. Papers had been asked not to print information on the situation in order to prevent panic, the papers asserted. The *Record* decided that silence was more fear-inspiring than knowledge. The fight for representation of depositors on the liquidation committee was also taken up, though with less success. A plan for the issue of certificates on the non-liquid deposits for the purchase of merchandise before Christmas was suggested.<sup>38</sup> This

was accepted enthusiastically by the business men. It did much to relieve the situation during the holiday season.

The influence which the press exerts is illustrated well by the fact that two of the important reconstruction plans accepted by the State Commissioner were suggested by the newspapers. Action was speeded up considerably by their efforts.<sup>39</sup>

Such, in brief, were the forces which were brought to bear on public opinion during this period. Ostensibly they were acting independently; actually they acted in accordance with a carefully made and well directed plan. The influence of national forces probably entered in, but these cannot be measured as to their effect. There is no means by which we can separate the effects of the various efforts by these agencies, to determine what relation they bear to each other. The fact that these events happened so recently makes it difficult to come to any final conclusions as to the results. It does illustrate, however, the method in which public and private agencies may be mobilized even in time of peace to meet some emergency. Every available medium was utilized to the greatest degree and with remarkable speed. The crisis was successfully met; there were few further bank failures after the middle of October.

<sup>37</sup> *Record*, October 19.

<sup>38</sup> *Record*, October 22.

<sup>39</sup> *Record*, November 4.

See *Five Years of "Planning" Literature*, by Evelyn C. Brooks and Lee M. Brooks, in *LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP*, pp. 430-465, in this number of *SOCIAL FORCES*.

## MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Contributions to this Department will include original articles, reports of conferences, special investigations and research, and programs relating to marriage and the family. It is edited by Ernest R. Groves of the University of North Carolina, who would like to receive reports and copies of any material relating to the family and marriage.

### CHARACTER TRAINING OF THE FEEBLEMINED

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AFTER his death in 1924, Dr. Walter E. Fernald, Superintendent of one of Massachusetts' training schools for the feeble-minded and a pioneer in the use of advanced educational methods for the training of this class of children being given institutional care, had addressed to him a poem containing these lines:—

"Leader in the newer science of the mind  
That though my intellect may measure less  
than yours  
Yet has it something for the world to use,  
The 'little dipper' has its use as surely as the  
great,  
Worth is inherent in us all."<sup>1</sup>

Every individual dealing with the feeble-minded might well wish to have applied to him or her the description expressed in these lines. No one should be engaged in the work of teaching the feeble-minded who does not recognize the principle contained in them. Moreover, all such teachers should bend every effort to the discovering of how best to find, train, and utilize that inherent something that is of value in each human organism. The failure to find, train, and utilize every capacity of each normal individual is a direct social loss, in that this individual's

contributions to the social wealth are lessened. A similar failure with the feeble-minded individual is both a direct and an indirect loss; direct because there is the same type of loss of potential contributions; indirect because proportionally as his capacities are below the normal and remain untrained he becomes a liability rather than an asset—he not only contributes nothing but he uses up the contributions of others. He may even by his acts destroy such contributions.

It is interesting to reflect upon the question of what is the basis of an individual's capacity for contribution. Fundamentally, potential capacity for contribution to the world in which one is living is dependent upon the ability to adjust to the many complex situations presented by that world. Excessive degree of limitation of such a capacity gives the type of individual that we call feeble-minded. Lack of training of this capacity in either normal or feeble-minded means ignorant or uneducated individuals.

It should be further recognized that the thoroughly educated individual is the one trained in both specific and general habits. It is the complexity of the specific habits one has learned that may be regarded as representing his skill. It is the general

<sup>1</sup> *Mental Hygiene*, IX, January, 1925, p. 161.

habits that may be regarded as constituting his character. And these general habits are of immense importance in determining the manner in which the special habits or the skills of the individual will be used. Thus an individual may have learned how to make beds—may have acquired that specific series of reactions that gives a perfectly made bed. But whether when given the task of making a dozen beds, each bed will be made perfectly; and whether this will be done when the individual is tired just as perfectly as when he is rested; or just as well following a disappointment as when the individual is contented, is a matter of general habits, or of character.

Not only is this true but the very degree to which a given individual learns as many and as complicated specific habits as his capacity will permit is dependent upon his more general character habits. If he has not had developed in him the general habit of persistence in the face of difficulties he will learn only those specific habits that are easy for him to learn. Those specific habits that lie anywhere near the upper limits of his capacity and whose acquisition, therefore, is difficult and can be established only as a result of long maintained effort, are never acquired by him.

In general, the principle just stated applies alike to the normal and the feeble-minded. That true education must be along the line of developing both the specific and the general habits is a principle that should be constantly in the mind of every educator, but even those educators who recognize the importance of the general or character habits all too frequently do little to foster the right kind of general habits, and all too frequently and all unconsciously do too much to prevent their being formed or to foster the forming of bad general habits.

While there are undoubtedly a great

many reasons contributing to this situation there is one reason that stands out above all others. Educators in their interest in getting pupils to master the formal disciplines have not only placed the greatest emphasis on the acquisition of specific habits, but they have carried over the precept method from the formal disciplines to whatever attempts they have made in the direction of more general habits education. And even in the case of those educators who have felt that precept and example are at least equally important in establishing both specific and general habits, we find that there is a decided difference in their use of precept and example in the two cases. There is practically never a discrepancy between precepts and examples in relation to the specific habits, while such discrepancies are common in relation to more general or character habits. Thus a teacher may state the precept two from five is three. And if she is demonstrating this principle by being store keeper and the pupil buys two penny pencils paying for them with a five cent piece the teacher *always* gives three pennies back. Precept and example (the teacher's own behavior) tally—there is no discrepancy. And this same sort of thing happens over and over again in the child's relationships with adults—he finds that two from five in *every* concrete situation is *always* three.

But what happens when it comes to the more general habits? The child is told you must never lie. Then the teacher says, "Johnny, I want the doctor to look in your throat—it won't hurt at all." But the child finds that it does hurt. And then mother says, "The man will cut your ears off if you don't stop crying." But the child still has his ears even though he continues to cry. And how many promises are made to children and carelessly forgotten? In each of these cases



there is a discrepancy between precept and example. Parents and teachers and other adults in all relationships with children, when it comes to character education, are constantly giving the equivalent of the precept of two from five is three; while the examples of two from five are being one, or two, or four. If we want absolute truth from children we must give absolute truth. The precept that one should always be honest should be followed by as unvarying examples of honesty as the precept two from five is three is followed by the unvarying examples of two from five being three.

A list of character or general habits that contribute to the success of any individual with a special handicap such as a sensory defect, or especially a mental defect, would most certainly include: Honesty, obedience, perseverance, neatness and orderliness, reliability, kindness. There is not a single one of these habits that cannot be demonstrated by teachers and parents numerous times throughout each day's contact with children. The special classroom and the other school contacts are unusually rich in opportunities, too often neglected, for examples in these traits.

I can see no need for further emphasizing the fact that the teacher must always be truthful in her relation to her pupils and that this truthfulness includes always keeping her word. There are a few points that I wish to indicate in relation to each of the other general habits just mentioned. In regard to perseverance it should be remembered that, as in all other habits, each success tends to strengthen and each failure tends to weaken the desired habit. Therefore, the teacher should never set a task beyond the immediate capacity for accomplishment. Persistence in the face of lack of success cannot be expected to be long maintained until persistence has been maintained first over short periods with

success coming at the end of such periods. This indicates the necessity of the teacher's studying her individual pupil so that she may know just how much of an added task she may put upon him. It must be constantly kept in mind that the establishment of these general habits follows exactly the same psychological principles as the establishment of specific habits; the capacities here are as slow to develop as are physical capacities. If we wanted a child to be able to lift a three pound weight above his head fifty times without stopping, we would not insist upon his doing it the first day he tried nor would we scold or punish him if he didn't succeed on the first trial. Such treatment would make him much less successful on his second trial. Rather, if we estimated his capacity for lifting the weight without much effort as being ten times, we would set his first task at twelve or thirteen successive lifts. Moreover, we would show our approval at the gain rather than our disapproval at its smallness. The pleasure of success and approval would then make later and harder trials more likely of getting the best effort of the child. The establishment of a habit of persistence in relation to all school and other life situations must be upon exactly the same gradual basis as in the primarily muscular one just described. Also, if the teacher herself, either by irritation or giving up, shows lack of perseverance in her attempts to instruct her backward pupils, she is giving a false example.

Kindness may be illustrated by the teacher's attitude toward other teachers, toward her pupils, toward animals, and so on. It must be realized in this connection that while many things done by the teacher may not be considered by her as unkind, they may be so considered by the pupils, and it is the way in which things are considered by the pupils that counts.

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One of the most common examples of this type of unkindness of the teachers toward pupils, especially feeble-minded pupils, is in the assignment of tasks beyond the pupils' capacities. The unkindness is heightened in many cases to the point of actual cruelty by scolding, nagging, or punishing for failure to do the impossible. Children are very quick to sense such unfairness. The aftermath is not only a failure to build up fairness and kindness as character traits in children, but also frequently in the creating of antagonism and of ideas of inferiority. In both of these cases there follows lessened effort even at the more simple tasks. Grouchy or unsympathetic or depressed teachers are notably unable to train children in habits of kindness. They are also, of course, ineffective in all their teaching.

Neatness and orderliness may be illustrated by the teacher's appearance, the way she keeps her desk, the way she, with the help of the children themselves, keeps the room, the children's desks, the tools used in the manual training work, the overcoats and caps of the children. I recall visiting a special room in which coats and caps were strewn over the desks although there were hooks provided in the room itself. Much could have been done here by the simple device of assigning each child his own personal hook and encouraging him to use it. In the work shop of this same class, hammers, saws, files and chisels, were all thrown together in a box much too small, not only to the injury of the tools, but to the injury of the children's characters. The habit of putting things in specific places can be easily established in these children and is a valuable industrial asset in later life.

In this same school the special class had charge (under the supervision of the teacher) of the cafeteria. General habits of neatness were not inculcated by allow-

ing those who served soup to carry it with their fingers over the rims of the soup bowls, nor by allowing the floors to be swept when food and dishes were exposed on the counters. These were little things but they happened every day and each time they happened they were strengthening faulty habits for those who saw them thus react.

The trait of obedience deserves special consideration in relation to the training of feeble-minded children. We all know that it is in the realm of abstract reasoning that the feeble-minded child is most inferior. Not only do the majority of those in this group lack the capacity of understanding, except in the very simplest cases, why certain methods of conduct are right and others are wrong; but they also lack the capacity of realizing why certain results are obtained under certain conditions. The problem, then, in the training of the feeble-minded is, at least in a degree, different from that of the training of normal children, except very young normal children. Absolute, unquestioning obedience in the very early life of all children is essential. Adults do know so much better what is necessary for the child's welfare that the child's safety, frequently even his life, depends upon this absolute obedience. But as time goes on the child's capacity for understanding the whys of desired and undesired behavior increases. If the child is ever to become an initiating, competent member of society, he must from here on replace blind obedience by reasoning action. Absolute protection by adult commands must be replaced by partial protection through adult counsel. Decisions must be left to the child even though some of these decisions are faulty. The child must learn by his mistakes. Any other method of training produces adults who are dependent and ineffective members of society.

The same general principles apply to the training of the feeble-minded. If they are to be as effective as possible they must use any reasoning ability they have. Initiative, that is, self contribution, must be encouraged to the extent of their capacity. Never tell even a feeble-minded child how to do the simple things he can, through suggestive guidance, seemingly discover for himself how to do. The feeble-minded child gets the same thrill or kick out of his simple personal discoveries as you and I do out of our bigger ones, or probably as the genius does out of his momentous ones. Life for the feeble-minded, the normal, or the super-normal is without zest, or tang unless there is the feel of personal accomplishment. But we must remember that each individual's powers are limited. We must, in our training of the feeble-minded, discover through study of each individual just what his powers are. Beyond this point the habit of obedience must be established if the welfare of the child, the future adult and society is to be maintained.

There are two main ways of establishing habits of obedience. One, unfortunately the most commonly practiced, is through the use of the superior power of the adult. In all cases the child is made to do what the adult tells him to do. Punishment, usually corporal punishment, follows failure to meet adult commands. Usually the punishment is continued and increased in severity until the commands are met. Situations of this kind occur again and again until eventually the child obeys commands almost automatically. This method is senseless and brutal and frequently disastrous. That it is the method commonly used is partially because of custom, partially because of ignorance, and partially (since it is the easiest immediate line of conduct) because of laziness. It is even more commonly used in dealing with those of limited mental capacity, because their limitations are not fully recognized.

I said that frequently the results were disastrous. Disaster follows such treatment because the children come to hate authority and are antagonistic in their attitude toward it. They comply with the demands of authority only because they must. There may come times when goaded to a point where endurance is no longer possible, violence occurs. Some, at least, of the murders committed by the feeble-minded are the result of such treatment.

The other method of establishing habits of obedience follows the plan already suggested of counseling and guiding to the limits of the child's capacity for understanding, rather than by commanding. The child, learning through experience that the following of adult advice brings greater comfort and happiness in relation to his behavior in simple situations, forms the habit of following such advice. Thus when it comes to more difficult life situations—those situations too difficult to be coped with by his limited powers, he still, through habit, follows the suggestions of those in authority. The establishing of this obedience to suggestion rather than to commands is greatly furthered if all the adult's treatment of the child is kind and just. We all dislike to do things that we are told to do by those we dislike. A disliked employer gets less for his money, the disliked military commander, even though he is obeyed gets less from his men, and the disliked teacher gets less from her pupils. In getting less she contributes less to their development.

The individual who has acquired habits of honesty, of orderliness, of perseverance, and of obedience is pretty apt to be the reliable individual. And such an individual is the one who is more apt, even though mentally deficient, to make progress in school and to better adjust in all economic and social situations than is the individual who is unreliable.

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couraged when we reflect upon how great a handicap it is for those of limited intelligence to have to go through life, creatures of habit rather than of reason, we would do well to reflect upon the extent to which normal adults are also creatures of habit. Take yourself, for instance: each time you brush your teeth do you go through an elaborate reasoning process as to the necessity of this particular form of behavior if you are to escape being socially offensive and are to maintain your health? Each time you become irritated with someone's behavior do you have to go through a lot of thinking before you decide not to make an assault? Each time you see an expensive fur coat or a hat or a book or an expensive automobile the purchase of which your budget will not permit, do you stop and go through a lengthy argument with yourself about the sacredness of property rights and the reasons for such sacredness before you decide not to appropriate the desired object? Of course it is absurd to suppose anything of this kind. Most of our moral reactions are as habitual as are the moral reactions of the feeble-minded. So far as moral reactions are concerned, the normal and the feeble-minded are different only in that the habits are acquired by the normal partially, although not entirely, on a reason basis, and that the normal can, if necessary, again reason about them.

In connection with this discussion of the habit basis of most moral or immoral, good or bad behavior, let me emphasize that the behavior is *wholly* acquired. Any type of behavior is dependent only upon the physical capacity of the individual for acquiring it, and upon his being subjected to the proper or the improper training, remembering, of course, that training is just as much training even though it is not given in classes or in schools. Every experience is training.

The above point needs stressing because

there is present an immense amount of misconception. The literature is viciously permeated with false statements upon the matter. As examples, let me take two from an article on "The Relation of Intelligence to Behavior" that appeared as recently as 1926 in as good a periodical as *Mental Hygiene*.

"The innate dispositions and personalities of children are far more important than their mental machinery, although intellect is a part of the personality."<sup>2</sup> And again: "Acquired patterns of behavior act upon and through deep instinctive traits accompanied by their lively emotional tensions."<sup>3</sup> Such statements implying as they do that there are innate tendencies toward certain personality types, or toward goodness or badness, or certain emotions, and that such influences have to be reckoned with in the establishment of habits—can only be made at the present time by those who have failed to keep abreast of the careful experimental researches in infant behavior and development as started by Watson and his pupils and carried on even more carefully and scientifically by such workers as the Shermans, and more recently still, by Weiss, Pratt, and others. As a matter of fact, the data of these studies make it quite clear that so far as the best evidence that we have at the present time goes, the new born infant is almost as naked of tendencies to behavior as he is of bodily covering.

Accepting such a position both simplifies and at the same time magnifies our whole educational problem. It means that with the capacities for acquiring, being what they are in any given child, *what* the child acquires is entirely a matter of education—formal and informal. What children are then and what they later become is almost entirely our responsibility.

<sup>2</sup> *Mental Hygiene*, X, No. 1, pp. 73-74.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 74.



## RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF OLD AGE

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OF ALL the fields of social research based on the problems of normal periods of the life cycle, the most neglected is that of life as it approaches its close. Yet in one peculiar sense it is the field where study is most needed. All the other age periods carry within themselves some regenerative capacity, so that even when social conditions are most disadvantageous, the individual by virtue of his own vitality yet has a chance to triumph. Even when social study has done nothing to prevent mistakes in childhood, adolescence, marriage, and such mistakes are made by the individuals themselves and by society in respect to them, the individuals' powers of recuperation are tremendous. But such is not the case in old age. The vigor, the expansive quality of life has gone. If the individual brings no resources with him it is too late for him to get them. New sources of strength are not arising. He is dependent as he has never been before.

Although expectation of life in the United States is not increasing for persons of fifty and over, the proportion of the population over 65 is increasing, due to our decreasing birth rate. In 1880 about one person in 30 was over 65 years of age; in 1930, one person in 20. The vital statistician, Warren S. Thompson, estimates that by 1950 one person in thirteen will be over sixty-five.<sup>1</sup>

The increasing tendency of industry to lay off persons who have reached middle life, and, with our growing specialization and urbanization, the decreasing oppor-

tunity for older persons to find or carry on productive work in any line which is adjusted to their strength and capacities, create social problems of old age which may be as important as the economic ones, and even more difficult to solve.

Although not a great deal of work has been done on any problems of old age the directly social problems have been less adequately dealt with than the indirectly social problems which are also economic and medical: old age dependency and old age health and illness. In *Senescence*, in 1922, Dr. G. Stanley Hall surveyed the whole field and gave a rather depressing report on its neglect. In the ten years since, a few signs of new attention have appeared.

Dr. Lillian J. Martin published in 1928 *Salvaging Old Age*, in part a research study based on acquaintance with 200 old people in all walks of life. In her book she reports the results of efforts to rehabilitate the old through psychotherapy, which in many if not most cases involved making changes in their physical or social environment.

Another psychological and social study bearing in part on old age is Dr. E. K. Strong's *Change of Interests with Age*, published by Stanford University Press in 1931.<sup>2</sup> The main body of evidence presented takes interest changes only to 55 years, but the trends in interest change up to this age are not without value in respect to later ages.

<sup>2</sup> Lack of scientific information on later maturity was called to the attention of various research groups in 1928 by Professors Lewis K. Terman and Walter R. Miles. In response to their statement the Carnegie Corporation made a grant to Stanford University to aid in such studies.

<sup>1</sup> Warren S. Thompson. Population trends in the United States and Their Effect on Industry. *Annalist*, 39, P. 97. 1932.

This year, one of my graduate students, Miss Frances Conkey, has written a thesis on *The Adaptation of 50 Men and Women to Old Age*. Twenty-five of these lived in their own and their families' homes, twenty-five in philanthropic institutions. The thesis was largely a series of case studies, in which Miss Conkey considered various factors in relation to the old persons' adjustments to life: previous education; former occupation; present association with the young; extent to which the old persons dwelt in the past, as evidenced by relics and by their conversation; financial dependence or independence; physical handicaps; and type, breadth, and intensity of present interests. The scope of the study was too small for her to come to conclusions as to the part each of these played in good adjustment. With respect to the last three points, however, all of which are usually considered to have an important bearing on adjustment, she reached a tentative conclusion, that financial dependence and physical handicaps were less important than interests. Financial dependence or insecurity and physical handicaps, even total blindness, did not necessarily prevent good adjustment, but lack of interests did. Among these particular men and women there was no case of poor adjustment in which interests were broad and keen.

These studies suggest various extensions of the problems involved in them. In the first place, we need more case studies of old people based not only on acquaintance with the old themselves, but with those with whom they live. Certain difficulties in adjustment, particularly to family situations, may not come to light in interviews with the old people alone. The old, as well as the rest of us, are frequently skilled in concealing what they do not care to reveal, or they may be unaware of the reactions their attitudes have on others.

Studies of change of interest with age are exceedingly important for several reasons. Some interests suitable to advancing age should probably be built up before old age comes. Dr. Hall asks why forty should not prepare for sixty as well as twenty for forty, and why not? Such studies should distinguish, as Dr. Strong shows, between changes due to age itself and those due to circumstances. For example, are the fewer companionships of old age due to the fact that old age is less social or to the fact that so many friends are gone?

It might be profitable to study the effect of age of retirement on successful adjustment to old age. Adjustment to a new way of life in itself requires energy for new interests, and men superannuated while they still have a good deal of vigor may be potentially in a happier condition than those who are permitted to carry on their accustomed labors until their strength is nearly gone. The effect of previous occupation to good adjustment is allied to this. Other things equal, would not one expect that farmers and housewives who can continue to work a little on the farm or in the house would be better off than business men and industrial workers whose regular work is all or nothing?

Allied to changes of interest with age are changes, or apparent changes, of character or temperament. Selfishness and undue self-assertion sometimes develop in old age; garrulity is not a uncommon expression of the latter. To what extent are these changes due to old age itself, to what extent to the circumstance that the old person has little to occupy himself with or is looking for a defense against his neglect by his social group or his family? Such a question is difficult to study objectively, but there are ways of getting light on it.

In what immediate social environments are old people best adjusted? What are the special problems of each and how may

various types of social environment be changed so as to meet more effectively the needs of the old? An article in the *Monthly Labor Review* for December, 1929, points out the evils of idleness in institutions for the old. This is more likely to be a serious problem in an institution than in a private family where an old person may live. But private family life has its problems, too. In preference to accepting an invitation to join the family group of one of their children, many old people hold out for being independent as long as possible, for living by themselves even at considerable risk to their physical welfare. The fact that this choice is so common, and would be more common if it were financially more easy, raises a number of problems in itself. We hear a great deal about the enviable and dignified position of old people in family life in the older China. There the family accords to its old the greatest attention, honor, and respect on principle. This results not only in making them happy but in many cases, at least, in bringing out their best. A study of family life as it involves the old in China would not be amiss in this connection. Does the Chinese family of necessity sacrifice other significant values in achieving this result?

It should not be assumed, of course, that social research for the benefit of the old is limited alone to a study of the old and the conditions surrounding them. It is true of some of the social as well as of the physical misfortunes of old age that their causes are to be found in youth or middle life. Granting that some undesirable character traits are due to rebellion against a bad environment, some others, certainly, are the result of unfortunate attitudes and habits—tyrannousness, moroseness, for example—that have been developing since childhood, but which do not show up as very important until old age is

reached. The unhappy old person may be half unaware he has been forming these attitudes and habits until he finds himself at their mercy. For such cases already developed, research can apparently do very little. Social research for old age, however, should be broad enough to discover and present means by which men and women may be effectively forewarned against these tendencies. There is no reason for regarding antisocial attitudes and habits—which include practically all undesirable and unhappy traits of character—as the business of nobody but the individual who has them, and as matters in which appeals for control should be made chiefly to that particular individual's emotion, religion, or private morals. We should evolve some way of studying them objectively as they affect the general good; it is even possible we may find some means of exercising some more positive social control over them than we do now. This subject, of course, takes us into another field than that of social problems of old age alone.

Perhaps more important than any other single thing as contributory to good adjustment in old age, or at any self-conscious age, is the feeling of the individual that he is wanted, or at least that he has a task to perform or an important attitude to exemplify. In respect to this the old age problem cannot be solved by itself, for the extent to which an old person can feel he is of service is very largely due to the attitude of society to him. If the large social group believes that people have served their usefulness by sixty, the individual man of seventy has a hard task to make himself wanted. Our American bias toward the virtues of productive efficiency is here standing in our light. One of the reasons for our neglect of old age problems is, in fact, this very bias: we do not study old age because we are

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pessimistic about it. Even Dr. Hall, who had every reason for wanting to be optimistic about old age and who starts off on his problem with the greatest vigor, strikes no really constructive note, and most of those whom he quotes are groping with him. It is said that he advised his son not to read *Senescence* because it would make him too down-hearted.

Such pessimism, however, has nothing to justify it, if we are able to step outside the narrow American, or perhaps better, the narrow production efficiency scene. A different or a wider philosophy sees, and already many times has seen, old age as a period which may be anticipated with pleasure and which the old person may enjoy, and his family, his friends, and even a wider circle with him. The vigorous expression of one's personality in productive efficiency is a good thing but there

are other contributions which men make to society. Not the least of these is the building up of personality and character reserves, sources of strength, from which others can draw.

This is a service we have been inclined to overlook in our modern emphasis on more tangible values, or else we have treated it in a sentimental way. Even from a practical and unsentimental point of view, however, there is nothing we need more than men and women in our midst who have achieved such inner mastery over the vicissitudes of living that they give confidence to the rest in our struggles. Since it is those who have lived much who can give this service best, we have here a unique contribution to old age, which substitutes for the means-values of doing things the end-values of personality and character.

#### A THOUSAND MARRIAGES

Valuable, indeed indispensable, as is *A Thousand Marriages* by Dickinson and Beam (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins, 1931) to all serious students of the family, its significance is greater even than the usefulness of its content. It is an epochal book and reveals the ending of one tradition and the beginning of another. The entrance to human sex experiences by the backdoor of morbidity, so evident in German, French, Italian, and even in the English pioneering studies of sex behavior during the period when the taboo was breaking, is replaced by the frontdoor approach through the normal problems of marital adjustment. Science, cutting loose from the past, makes a fresh start in its attempt to bring within its domain a type of conduct that is in its personal and social consequences unrivalled.

The morbid taint given sex by the European emphasis has at last been removed by an objective clinical investigation observing the severest standards of modern science. The material of the book also has been gathered during routine consultations and thus avoids the artificial set-up which has seriously limited the value of earlier American attempts to uncover the facts of the common, everyday problems of marital adjustment.

*A Thousand Marriages* is a first book, a starting point for the modern attitude toward sex, and, as such, should not only be in the library of every one having any pretense of a serious interest in the American family, but should be there as a foundation book. A familiar and pondering fellowship with this book is the prerequisite for a good use of the other discussions that our social advance has already made possible, and those that the future, through the stimulus of this book, will bring forth. At last the study of sex is out of the woods and the building of a science of non-pathological behavior has safely started. In bringing this about *A Thousand Marriages* has become the eventful book in its field in this the first quarter of our century.

Ernest R. Groves



## RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CHINESE VILLAGE LIFE

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THE eternal triangle of forces—human nature, the geographical and climatic surroundings, and culture—vie with each other in their claim for supremacy in explaining social structure and social change. It is perhaps natural for one who has lived 15 years in North China to stress almost exclusively the cultural factors. The swarthy Mongols, who ride into China's ancient capital from the nearby plains of Mongolia, are of a kindred race to the Chinese and come from a region with soil and climate similar to those of the plains of North China, but they are herdsmen and live on milk, cheese, and beef, while the Chinese are intensive farmers and, up to recently, were nauseated by drinking cows' milk or eating cheese.

I have been teaching in a college (Yenching University, Peiping, China) where the Chinese young men, though certainly of the same race as their parents, wear different clothes, discuss in a different language, flirt with coeds, scoff at Confucius, engage in iceskating and football—in short, in the same climate and with the same skins, they live in a different world and behave in a different way from the preceding generation.

A recent study of the second generation Chinese in Los Angeles, made by Miss Kit

King Lewis, concludes that the real tragedy in the lives of many of these students is, that intellectually, emotionally, recreationally, and in every other observable respect, these young people are completely attuned to the American way of life, but that because of the color of their skin and the slant of their eyes, American people do not recognize the change that has taken place, and treat them accordingly.

Bouglé has defined a value as "a permanent possibility of satisfaction,"<sup>1</sup> and Bogardus has defined an attitude as "an established tendency to act with reference to some phase of one's social and physical environment."<sup>2</sup> He then goes on to show that these objects in the environment are the positive values above defined and also the negative values which might in a similar fashion be defined as "permanent possibilities of dissatisfaction."

The understanding of what is really going on in a situation of dynamic cultural change depends even more on the comprehension of the rôle of attitudes and values, than on the mere detailed description of what changes are taking place in the observable behavior of the group. What

<sup>1</sup> *Evolution of Values*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> *Immigration and Race Attitudes*, p. 13.

values were prized and striven after in old China, what tendencies were established to act in certain ways with reference to these values? Under a changed social organization, and in a new setting, the ancient attitudes and values have a confusing way of cropping out and complicating the otherwise explicable modern situation.

The dynamic process of cultural change, taking place in China, is in evidence in all the large cities, but, fortunately for the student of culture, the ancient mould can be observed often just a few miles from the modernized cities. Without, moreover, some appreciation of the social structure and the associated values and attitudes, the confusing scene of contemporary Chinese life seems ten times more confounded.

Accordingly, three different years the writer visited villages 30 miles from Peiping, living with a group of students and endeavoring with them to come to an understanding of the life of these isolated communities.

The last of the three villages under the microscope was San Chia Tien, situated about 17 miles west of Peiping. After crossing a dusty and infertile plain, we reach the entrance to the main village street, an almost straight road about a mile long through the village. At the far end of the village this road takes a sharp turn to the left and leads immediately to a long bridge crossing the Han River. The rocky bed of this small river borders the village on the south, while half of the village is bounded by barren hills a half mile to the north.

As in the case of all North China villages visited, the artisans' shops and stores are all on the one central street, with the homes of the farmers in the rear of this row, and the fields of the farmers stretching out in every available direction beyond.

In this village, the fields could be seen to the northeast, terraced up the hillsides, and to the east, with a few fields cultivated along the river bank.

With elaborate questionnaires, we set out in teams to interview the head man of the village, the village gentry, the merchants, priests, school teachers, local town's police, and also the women in the homes, the passers-by and beggars on the street. Our main task was to distinguish three sets of facts: (1) the elements of the ancient pattern of life, (2) the evidences of the incorporation of new cultural elements, and (3) the influence of the old ways upon the mode of acceptance and character of the new.

In what areas were the ancient Chinese ways most in evidence? In the organization and methods of agriculture; in family life and customs; in superstitions and medical practices; in the local secret society of semi-religious nature.

The evidences of the new were to be found principally in the large number of modern manufactured goods for sale in the stores, the new modes of communication, and most important, in the new school and in the discovery in conversation of new interests and attitudes regarding national and international questions.

Ogburn's theory of the cultural lag, namely, that material culture changes first and spiritual and immaterial culture changes more slowly, adjusting itself to the material realm, was only partially verified by this study. There are apparently lags material as well as lags spiritual, and also changes spiritual which precede the material. Some changes of the non-material culture of the village seem to be better explained in the terms of Max Weber's "rational-purposeful" social behavior, than as changes made inevitable by previous alteration in material culture.

Let us then begin with the fields

where the change is least manifest. The methods and tools of the farmers show little change. The wooden plow, the methods of cultivation and fertilization of the wheat and the millet show nothing new. The three farmers who established the village 500 years ago in the Ming dynasty probably used the same open threshing floors and the same stone rolling mills, and possibly the same type of little blinded donkey to turn the mill. The main features of the pattern of the farmers' life are of the ancient type.

Twenty homes of the more than 400 in the village were carefully studied. The total village population was roughly 3,000, about one-half farmers and their families, and the other half merchants, skilled workmen and apprentices with a few officials and police. Among the twenty homes studied were two from the gentry, one rich merchant, one small shop keeper, four street peddlers, one farmer, two teachers, one official, and one soldier. In all these homes apparently the older generation still rules with a mighty hand. For the most part, the newly-married couple lives in a courtyard adjoining those of the parents. The virtual economic communism of the old clan system, however, is breaking down, and there is a tendency for the small family unit to manage its own economic problems. The customs of marriage are the same as those of the ancient day. The rich families arrange for the marriage of their sons when they are about 16 years of age, choosing, almost always, girls from 18 years and above, for the older girls make better household servants for the mother-in-law. The sons of the poorer families marry at about 20 years of age, securing wives of 16 or 17 years, for the parents of the girls of the poorer class cannot afford to keep them in their homes longer. The taboo against marrying a widow still

holds, for the widow if she remarries is granted no public ceremony but merely goes stealthily at night to the home of the groom. Property is still inherited entirely by the sons, and the ceremonies and customs at birth and death are apparently identical with those of the ancestors.

A striking change in the customs of the family is the direct product of the modern governmental action. The definite legal prohibition of foot-binding was enacted in the village, November 17, 1928. Girls and women below 30 years of age on that day were to have their feet unbound. After the enforcement of these laws, there remained in the village 308 women with bound feet. In like manner, the queues were abolished by governmental edict in the early days of the revolution. Today in the whole village there are only eight old men who still preserve their queues.

While the general structure of the homes is unchanged—adjoining courts with one-story buildings on the north, east, and west sides, and the gate on the south—many evidences of the new were discovered by women students from their visits in the inner courtyards. New type mirrors, enamel wash-basins, western style lamps, modern tooth-brushes, new style woolen yarn, kerosene oil, tallow candles, new style furniture, new types of ear rings, and new style hair-dressing oil were seen. In the head man's home, an ice-box, a sewing machine, a phonograph, and a bicycle were noted.

In the midst of these "luxuries," however, the women and girls within the walls of the Chinese courts showed a total lack of comprehension of the trends of the time. Such terms as these were mentioned to them by the bob-haired, short-skirted young students; "the emancipation of women," "equality of the sexes," "the Three People's Principles of Sun Yat Sen." The lack of comprehension of

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these and many other terms indicated that they were heretofore unheard of by the women of San Chia Tien. It is very evident in this village that "woman's place is in the home" as it was a thousand years ago. She may look into a modern looking-glass, wear modern-style jewelry, adorn herself in costumes modified by western influences, and use powder imported from Japan, but her mental life remains unchanged.

These women, however, are less actively engaged than their mothers were before them. When cotton prints of beautiful colors can be purchased in the local stores for a cheap price, why work at home to make coarser blue material on the ancient loom? Kerosene oil burns better than the ancient vegetable oil and the purchased tallow candles are much more convenient than those made at home. In the richer homes flour ground in the mills of Shanghai and Tientsin is much better, more convenient and tastier than the flour made in the old stone mill.

The Chinese family, while very evidently affected in many different ways by the impact of Western culture, remains in this village, as in so many villages, as still the most powerful social unit—the institution which more than any other determines the attitudes and loyalties and the activities of the Chinese people.

It is not surprising that there is lack of initiative and enterprise among a people where the elders rule supreme, and where there is no opportunity to take the lead until one is 60 or 70 years of age. The nepotism in Chinese government offices and business corporations has its roots largely in the clan system where every member was duty-bound to look after every other one of the group. In the National cabinet the power of one family has been manifested in recent years, and a recent Nanking government was named the

Soong dynasty because of the dominance of one brother and two sisters—T. V. Soong, Minister of Finance; Mrs. Chiang Kai Shek, wife of the President; and Mrs. H. H. Kung, wife of the Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. National politics were further enlivened by a family quarrel, for Madam Sun Yat Sen, drastic critic of the government was also a Miss Soong.

I remember seeing once in a Peiping paper an advertisement by the Minister of Finance which read somewhat as follows: "Many relatives have applied to me for funds. I have given liberally to members of the family clan, and now scarcely have anything left for my wife and children. Please do not apply to me further for gifts."

This village, like the others I visited, can be said to be not so much a corporate union of citizens as a union of a number of important families. The government of the village was practically entirely in the hands of the representatives of these groups.

An attitude to be noted among these villagers is a strong sense of identification with the locality where the ancestors have lived and have been buried, of attachment to their part of the good earth. In another village, east of Peiping, founded in the Sung dynasty (73-420 A.D.) our students were taking a census. The police gave us the population statistics of 360 families, comprised of 2,300 persons. From other sources we had learned that the population was about 3,000 persons. After long discussion it was discovered that all those that were included in the official count were the members of the families who had been in the village for many generations. The 300 merchants, craftsmen, and apprentices whose families had come to the village during the last 200 years were not counted as local residents,



but only as temporarily residing in that place with their homes elsewhere. One of the greatest problems confronting citizenship education in China is this strong sense of locality and loyalty to the clan and village, and even to the soil on which the ancestors have worked and in which they are buried.

The medical practices of the village are of the ancient order. There are three old style Chinese doctors and five medicine shops selling the ancient remedies, including ground dragons-teeth and pulverized snake skins. The elements of modern sanitation are unknown. Again the one characteristic of the new that is evident in this field is the prevalence of vaccination, which also is carried out because of the orders of the modern-minded county magistrate. An interesting adaptation of the new to the old is the practice by the people of still worshipping the Goddess Niang Niang (who is supposed to have charge of the cure of small-pox) twelve days after each vaccination has taken place. The superstitious belief in this goddesses power is identified with the effectiveness of vaccine.

The villagers still use the ancient device of drawing sticks out of a metal jar to secure information as to the methods of curing disease, and worship the image of three famous doctors of the Manchu dynasty, who are now called the Gods of Medicine.

This small village is possessed of eleven temples, several of them falling to pieces. Three are used for schools. There are no monks in the village, but in the case of two or three temples, the gate-keeper will offer incense and food to the gods and say prayers for a financial consideration. In the homes, the Kitchen God and the God of Wealth and the ancestral tablet are worshiped at regular times of the year, as they have been for generations.

The governmental structure of the vil-

lage is a combination of old and new elements. The head man, Mr. Ying, is a rich merchant of about 60 years of age who was selected in the old style way, not by popular vote, but by the heads of the leading families. Associated with him, however, are several younger men between 30 and 40 years of age, representing not only family groups, but chosen because of their knowledge of how to deal with the marauding soldier bands, and because of their acquaintance with trends of modern life outside the village. The average age of this group is far below the age of similar groups in more isolated villages where seniority is practically the only credential for governmental administration. This group governs the village, settles most of the disputes that take place within it, determines policies pertaining to local education, and represents the village in its relations with county magistrates and with the heads of the other villages.

The "Watch-the Crop" association, founded for the purpose the name indicates, still functions as a protective association during the spring months. The young men of the village are allotted by the different families to act as watchers in rotation. However, the new Chamber of Commerce, representing the merchants—a new type of association advocated by the early reforms of 1898—has already become an established institution in the village. This body has become the principal source of funds for the various activities advocated by the head man and his councillors, and is therefore closely associated with the government of the village.

To the land tax, which each family head himself carries to the county seat, have been added many other surcharges and taxes and also continual levies, for all of which the village council and the Chamber of Commerce have to devise ways and means to collect.

Except the most violent crimes such as

murder and highway robbery, all local matters are settled in the village without going to the county official. The attitude of San Chia Tien towards the county magistrate (although it so happened that the magistrate was a young man with a modern education and a fine record) is that characterized by the ancient distrust of the grafting official. On the one hand, the official is to be respected as a scholar and a counselor of the people; on the other hand, practically, one is well-advised to have as little to do with him as possible, and to settle his disputes at home before the village Elders who know the local situation.

This attitude of formal respect for the precepts of the scholarly official class was brought out clearly at the Institute of Pacific Relations in September, 1931 in Shanghai. A prominent Chinese official was explaining a new labor law of the Nationalist Government with its eight-hour regulation, insistence on old-age and accident insurance, abolition of child labor, et cetera, when the contrasting Japanese viewpoint was presented by a question from a prominent member of the Japanese delegation.

"Do you enforce these laws, and if not, what value are they to you?" he asked.

The Chinese replied, "No, we have not enforced them. It is our belief that the government should hold up high ideals to the people and should set standards towards which they should work. We are gradually reconstructing our industries to meet these standards."

However, in practical village affairs, one had better not get into the hands of the law as the official is notorious, not only for scholarly pronouncement and formation of ideals, but for his capacity for absorbing a maximum amount of the wealth of his county in a minimum amount of time. These ancient attitudes, on the one hand, explain the complicated and

intricate constitution of new China, the endless programs of reform worked out by the Minister of Education, the Minister of Health and the Minister of Agriculture and Industry; and they also explain, to a degree, the slowness of the Chinese people to fall in line with the new ways and loyally to unite in backing up the new regime.

To outward appearances, the stores and shops are of the ancient kind, but after visiting all of them, we found not only the old-style craftsman,—carpenters, gold and silver workers, tin smiths, brush makers, coffin makers, the sellers of mutton and pork and sweet oils and nuts, and of old style Chinese shoes and hats, but we also discovered many modern products—some of which have been mentioned in the description of the homes—kerosene oil, lamps, factory-made flour, modern soap from a Peiping factory, British and American made cigarettes, glassware from Germany, towels, tooth brushes, tooth paste, patent medicines from Japan and modern matches. Cloth shops offered factory-made cotton goods.

The most marked change, however, that had taken place in the economic life of the village was not one that could be seen by observing goods for sale in the stores. A few years ago, the construction of a modern railroad, passing within a few hundred yards of the village, resulted in the destruction of the principal occupation of the village. This occupation was the transportation on camel-back of the coal coming through the mountain passes from Shanshi province to the capitol. Now the coal comes by rail, and furthermore the local coal mines of the adjoining hills also send their products to the railroad station, and not to the camel-loading head-quarters in the village. This change has impoverished the village and made it necessary for the villagers to emphasize more especially the growing of grain and

the raising of persimmons for the Peiping market.

The most noticeable change in the life of the village was the coming of the modern school. In education, also, we find, as in other areas, the parallel existence of the old and the new. By government edict in 1906, the ancient examination system was abolished. No longer was the attainment of official position and the possession and accumulation of wealth dependent upon the passing of examinations in the ancient classics. Modern education has based its curriculum on subjects very similar to those in the West. Today there are over ten million young men and women, boys and girls, in modern-style schools in China.

One of these modern schools is in a temple in this village. Unlike the schools of the cities, only boys were in attendance. The total enrollment was only 21. The teacher, with a degree from a higher primary school only, and with some special coaching in a six-weeks school of the modern Nationalist party, was in charge. The curriculum covered the modern Chinese readers published by the Commercial Press, (the subject matter of which covers history, personal hygiene, principles of government, and other modern subjects), Chinese penmanship, and the investigation of "Three People's Principles" of Sun Yat Sen. The conduct of the school was very similar to the ancient way in which the Chinese tutor coached his pupils. The three classes of the school were in one room, and all studied aloud at will. There were no definite school hours, the school starting shortly after sunrise, adjourning for breakfast at 9 o'clock, with the students remaining in and about the school until sunset.

We also found in the town three small private schools with old-style Chinese scholars for teachers, instructing the boys

in the ancient Four Books, in penmanship, and in other classical books used formerly by teachers in preparing students for government examinations. The number of students in these schools was about twice that in the modern public school.

Familiarity with the life in the cities of China and the history of education in that country makes it clear that this little public school with its poor equipment and inadequately prepared teacher is the most revolutionary instrument of change in that town. The scholars have for centuries been the leaders of the people—not the warriors or the merchants. This leadership has at present passed out of the hands of the conservative old-style scholars. Today, the semi-educated militarists and the modern educated Chinese (the new literati) are contending for the leadership of the nation, with the trend in favor of the civil officials of the new type. A nation that has always followed the scholar will follow, now, those of the new type. Each year the number of those who have been students of modern schools increases.

Conversation with the gentry, local salt-tax collector, and other officials, and the more important merchants, showed a mottled picture of the mental life composed of old and new elements. Some few were not only acquainted with the principles of the new Sun Yat Sen democracy and with issues as those symbolized by the new terms, "the unequal treaties," "tariff autonomy," "local self government," but inquired regarding prohibition in the United States and the effects of the World War on contemporary Europe. One young lad of 16, the son of an official and a student in the Confucian school, inquired about the doctrines of Karl Marx. In several of the richer homes, one found copies of one or another of the 60 daily newspapers of Peiping.

In this little village are focussed forces of centuries and the movements of modern history. The mores and ways of family life growing up in an agricultural setting and made sacred and divine by the precepts of the great Sage, who did not come to create but to conserve the best of the Chinese past, change slowest. Many of the superstitions and religious attitudes and practices date far back of the Confucian period.

Changes are prominent where the direct material advantages of the change can be easily seen and where the emotions are less disturbed by change—in the realm of material goods of a new and serviceable kind.

But another type of change has clearly been forced upon a docile people by a government dominated by moderns who are moulding the countryside in new ways, e.g., the new school, vaccination made compulsory by the police, the unbinding

of the women's feet, the new type Chamber of Commerce.

Most potent in changing the life of this little village is the railroad, constructed by the Chinese government. It has transformed the economic life of the town and is throwing it open to the influences of the nations of the world.

At the same time, the modern newspaper and periodicals, unknown 20 years ago in that village, bring to the minds of the villagers the currents of a new life, so that even the son of the conservative gentry in a Confucian school is beginning to ponder on the teaching of Karl Marx!

Geography and climate still limit and restrict the type of development possible in any locality, but in the modern world at least, the forces of culture, past and present, seem within these limitations to be almost the sole determiner of the pattern of life in the particular group.

## CIVILIZATION OF SOUTHEASTERN KENTUCKY

ROLAND M. HARPER

*University, Alabama*

IN RECENT months many press dispatches have told of the attempts of writers and students to investigate conditions in the coal fields of southeastern Kentucky, where some industrial disturbances have been in progress, and of the hostility of local officials to such investigations. If the would-be investigators had only known it, they could have gotten much if not most of the information they sought from census reports and other easily available sources, without risk or expense.

Similar troubles have occurred at one time or another in nearly all the coal fields of the United States; and this does not necessarily indicate that mine operators are a heartless lot, but is due mainly to the

fact that coal mining is a dirty and somewhat hazardous occupation that requires a minimum of intelligence, and does not attract gentlemen of refinement, or ladies. Some of our coal fields are located in fairly fertile and prosperous regions, as in western Kentucky; but eastern Kentucky is mountainous, with rather poor soil, and this region has long had just about the highest birth-rate and largest families in the United States, and that tends to make labor cheap and the per capita wealth low.

The present trouble seems to be confined to two counties in the southeastern corner of the state, namely, Bell and Harlan. Doubtless many newspaper readers have pictured these counties as very rugged and



difficult of access, with a sparse population isolated in narrow valleys, and much addicted to feuds and moonshining. That might have been true fifty years ago, and may still apply to some counties not far

land in these counties was cleared, and the population was sparse and chiefly engaged in raising farm products for home consumption, having no rail or river connections with the rest of the world. But

TABLE I  
SELECTED STATISTICS OF POPULATION OF BELL AND HARLAN COUNTIES, KENTUCKY, 1930 (AND EARLIER)

	WHOLE COUNTIES	FARM POPULATION	RURAL NON-FARM	URBAN (4 CITIES)
Per cent of total.....	100	11.8	68.0	20.2
Inhabitants per square mile:				
1880.....	13.2			
1920.....	76.1			
1930.....	120.0			
Per cent native white.....	91.4	99.5	90.8	89.0
Per cent foreign white.....	1.0	0	1.1	1.1
Per cent Negroes.....	7.55	0.5	8.05	9.9
Per cent other races.....	0.04	0	0.05	0
Persons per family:				
1860.....	6.09	—	—	—
1920.....	5.01	?	?	4.57*
1930.....	5.05	5.82	5.07	4.65
Per cent of families having radios, 1930.....	13.2	2.8	10.9	24.6

White population only

Per cent under 10:				
1860.....	37.8	—	—	—
1930.....	31.7	?	?	?
Per cent over 21:				
1860.....	35.2	—	—	—
1930.....	44.9	40.7	45.0	51.1
Ratio of men to women (adults), 1930.....	1.15	1.08	1.21	.97
Children per woman.....	2.64	3.04	2.80	1.88
Per cent illiterate:				
Over 10 years:				
1910.....	22.8	—	—	—
1920.....	12.4	—	—	5.72*
1930.....	10.7	?	?	?
Adults, 1920.....	16.4	—	—	?
Men.....	13.9	—	—	?
Women.....	19.7	—	—	?

\* Middlesborough only.

away, but Bell and Harlan now differ from the traditional type in several particulars, especially accessibility and density of population.

Fifty years ago less than one-tenth of the

between 1880 and 1890 railroads entered and made the vast deposits of coal accessible, and since then the population has increased very rapidly, from 19.2 persons per square mile in 1890 to 120 in 1930, the

last being nearly double the state average and more than double the figure for some of the fertile blue-grass counties. There is now one double-tracked main line of railroad, and many single-track branches serving both counties.

Cities have grown rapidly at the same time, and there are now two of "urban" size in each county. The largest is Middlesborough, with 10,350 inhabitants in 1930, and the others are Harlan (formerly called Mt. Pleasant), with 4,327, Pineville, 3,567, and Cumberland (formerly Poor Fork), 2,639. About 20 per cent of the population now lives in these cities, 68 per cent in smaller coal mining settlements, and only 12 per cent on farms. Nearly all the farmers are native whites, as in our mountain regions generally, but there are a few foreigners and more Negroes in the cities and mining camps.

Table I shows some of the characteristics of the population of the two counties in 1930, separating that on farms, the rural non-farm population (mostly mining settlements), and urban, where possible. Some of the figures in the last column are for all four cities, and some for Middlesborough only, for the census gives less detail for those with less than 10,000 inhabitants. There are also some com-

parative figures from earlier censuses. The upper half of the table is for the aggregate population, and the lower for whites only, who constitute over nine-tenths of the total. Similar figures for Negroes, Mexicans, etc., could have been given if it had seemed worth while.

It will be noticed that the families have decreased considerably in size since 1860, but are still well above the United States average (which was 4.35 in 1920 and 4.09 in 1930), and were a little larger in 1930 than in 1920. Closely correlated with this are a high birth-rate (as shown by the percentage under 10, and the ratio of children to women), and a small proportion of adults, especially on the farms. Most children, of course, are dependents, and as long as the families remain so large the per capita wealth is bound to be low, in spite of any efforts that may be made by outsiders to ameliorate conditions.

Illiteracy has decreased with the size of families, here as elsewhere, and the cities make a pretty good showing in this, as in various other matters. The proportion of families having radios in the county is higher than in some whole states farther south, but, of course, is lower on the farms than in the cities.

## GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspects of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

### SCIENTIST AS CITIZEN

READ BAIN

*Miami University*

**W**E LIVE in the age of science. Of course, it is also the age of machines, but the scientist is the father of machinery. Scientists discover the relatively stable uniformities in the occurrence of natural phenomena, formulate principles, and create formulas. These generalizations make possible the construction of machines designed to eliminate all extraneous factors in phenomenal diversity and leave a single simple uniformity which the machine repeats with tireless speed and accuracy.

Every machine merely does more perfectly and persistently what man's mind-and-muscle first does imperfectly and intermittently. The machines, or instruments, of the scientist enormously extend the range and accuracy of his sense-perceptions. This is the process by which the proximate uniformities of natural phenomena are revealed and made to yield the "principles" and "natural laws" which have transformed technology from crude tools into intricate and elaborate machines. C. E. Ayres, in *Science, the False Messiah*, has shown how almost every major scientific discovery has been made possible by the invention of some sense-extending instrument. When scientific generalizations have been made, clever mechanics soon embody them in "practical" ma-

chines. The scientist is the father of machines, the factory is the mother, and the mechanic-engineer is the midwife. The scientist germinates the machine and the engineer delivers it.

It should be kept clearly in mind that machine-technique is merely an elaboration of crude, commonsense activities. Trains, ships, automobiles, and air-planes are only man-the-burden-carrier writ large; mechanical communication is an apotheosis of man-the-shouter-and-signaller; computation machines are man-counting-on-his-fingers; dynamos, motors and engines are man-the-horse-and-slave-driver; and so on for all machines based upon the principles of physical science.

Sociological and biological science is just plain commonsense with the nonsense knocked out of it by the strong hand of scientific method. Careful, instrumentalized observation chastened by rigid logic, generalized by mathematical analysis, enlightened and interpreted by factual imagination, reveals the uniformities of human and animal behavior. This makes possible the prediction of such behavior. The geneticist is man-the-speculator-on-birth,—"every beast bringeth forth after its kind;" the evolutionist is man-the-maker-of-cosmologies; the physician is the primitive witch-doctor and herb-mixer;

the economist is the savage at barter and trade; the political scientist is the aboriginal leader of war and chase; the sociologist is the spokesman of tribal tradition; and so on for all the "principles" of the sociological and biological sciences.

These principles, abstracted from sense-experience by the physical, biological, and sociological scientist, give birth to the machines and social organizations which aid and abet our industrial civilization. The scientist is the center of vitality and power in our culture. He is the modern Mighty Magician. He has slain the ancient gods. If he has left us any sort of God, He is an "It": Energy, or immanent metaphysical Ground, or Millikan's cosmic rays, or Whitehead's "concrescence of an unity of conceptual feelings." The mantle that has slipped or been snatched the shoulders of the prophets of the past has fallen upon the scientist; he is the modern prophet,—whether he likes it or not. If he betrays his trust, shirks his responsibility, or grows confused, he will destroy the people, the people who support and bow down before this new Deliverer of the Word, the prophet-priest-scientist. If he is blind, then the blind will lead the blind and both will fall into the ditch.

Dropping the parable and speaking bluntly, the scientist is citizen as well as scientist. More, he is the prestige-clothed citizen of our time. He is the dynamic agent in our culture, the most powerful single factor in the most rapidly changing culture that has ever graced or disgraced this planet. If he is a bad citizen, we shall have a bad society. If he is bad enough, the social order that supports him will crumble and the proud structure of our science-conjured civilization will crash to ruin, destroying the scientist along with his bedazzled worshippers.

Scientists, with few notable exceptions,

are the worst citizens of the Republic; they, more than any other single factor, threaten the persistence of Western culture. They are wholesale, though unconscious, traitors to the civilization they have created. Racketeers are running sores on the social body, but unsocialized scientists are a foul corruption in the very heart's blood of society. They are not prophets of light and leading but workers of Black Magic, weavers of weird spells, progenitors of destruction. Their calling has become a cult, a dark mystery cult. They have opened Pandora's box. They have released mighty forces that are pulverizing ancient social structures, producing personal and social disorganization; but they refuse to accept any responsibility in the creation of new modes of social control to counteract the devastation produced by machine technique.

This is not an attack on scientific method as such. One cannot emphasize too strongly the necessity for keeping scientific procedure separated from all moralistic preconceptions. But when the facts are found and the conclusions are reached, then the scientists should come out of the laboratory and do battle for the good life that may result from the truth they have discovered. They must not be any the less "pure" scientists, but they must become more the "pure" citizens, using their prestige and their knowledge that is power to promote the good life. At present they are largely recreant to this duty and privilege. They are bad citizens.

What is the proof of this? They do not vote; they sneer at politics and politicians. They poke fun at preachers and "other moralists." They laugh at education which pays a goodly portion of their salaries. They sell their services to exploiters of human life. They make a fetish of "research" and "scientific method." They produce powerful mechanisms and



proudly proclaim that they "do not care how they are used—leave that to the moralists." They are blatantly a-moral, un-moral, or non-moral; they boast of their unutilitarian purposes; they refuse to tell people what they "ought to do;"—that would be "unscientific." They are parasites upon the body politic but they refuse to accept any political responsibility. Universities may discharge professors who run for office or champion unpopular causes, and the scientists meekly submit. They think tolerance and lack of conviction are synonymous. They tend to support the *status quo*, or the *status quo ante*. They allow, with only slight protest, any nostrum, gim-crack, gew-gaw, half-baked theory and reformatarian fantasy to masquerade under the sacred name of science. They ridicule artists, laugh at Rotarians, and let things in general run merrily to the devil. Practical things do not concern the "pure" scientists. The "pure" scientist has to be a moral eunuch or a civic hermit.

So it happens that the logical prophet of an age whose religion is science and whose ritual is the machine process sits aloof in his endowed laboratory Ivory Tower and pursues science for the sake of science. This is the one sure sign of decadence. The scientist has become offensively scientific; his "purity" is a Puritanic pollution. If a man of science tries actively to promote what seems to him the good life, his fellow scientists soon look askance, lift the eye-brow of scorn and read him out of the party. He becomes out-cast, renegade, pariah, to the cult one of whose unwritten laws is that "no true scientist is directly concerned with human welfare." "You are *advocating* something—do you call that *scientific*?"

In short the American scientist takes himself so seriously that he fails miserably to discharge his civic duty. He is a bad

citizen. He refuses to identify himself with his community. He stands proudly aloof, a modern Pharisee. He lacks moral courage, has no integrated social philosophy, has tremendous self-complacency and egoistic smugness, feels no social obligation nor communal responsibility, is provincial-minded and so highly specialized that he is almost psychopathic.

Unfortunately, these remarks apply almost as well to social as to physical and biological scientists. The prestige of the last two groups is much the greater; hence, their failure to inform themselves and accept their responsibility is a more serious loss. In general, they are almost devoid of social intelligence. Those who do use their prestige to promote "causes" are usually ignorant both of social realities and the findings of the social sciences. Therefore, they often make themselves ridiculous or become the spokesmen of clever charlatans and stupid zealots.

The social scientists are little better. They are defensively and offensively "scientific." There are many unsocialized sociologists. The promotion of the good life they leave to the social workers,—whom they hold in supreme contempt; the political scientists leave it to reformers and politicians, whom they hold in contempt; the economists, henchmen to the jealous and fear-ridden god, Big Business, leave it to the "sociologists" and political scientists, whom they hold in contempt. Try to get social scientists to take an active part in changing the social order, even though those changes are the logical consequences of their own theories and findings! "We cannot!" they cry, rabbit-voiced, "It would be unscientific!" So, to be "pure" scientists they become bad citizens. Have the learned social science societies, not to mention the still more smug biological and physical societies, ever taken a stand on such questions as the

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Harding Scandals, Mooney Case, Red Hysteria, Protective Tariff, Republican Prosperity, Harlan County Horrors, Gas-tonia Riots, Militaristic Madness, Labor Injunction Evil, Lynching Mania, Unemployment Disgrace? It would be "very unscientific," yet it is safe to say there is a high degree of agreement among the members of the social science societies on these and many other important questions of public policy. As individuals, scientists take their civic responsibilities very lightly; as groups, they refuse to admit that they have any.

This is the Great Betrayal. Scientists are the inspired prophets and logical

leaders of an age whose religion is science. If they continue to manufacture their dangerous toys and allow the quacks, racketeers, corrupt politicians, exploitive industrialists and stupid populace to use them undirected, the end is inevitable and inescapable disaster. Unless scientists in every field develop a high degree of social intelligence, replace their moral apathy with enlightened moral fervor, and take their rightful place as prophets and promoters of the good life, Western culture is doomed to slow decay and final destruction.

And it may not be so slow!

## THE POLITICAL DIVERSITY OF ECONOMIC GROUPS

GLENN E. HOOVER

*Mills College*

IN THIS study an attempt has been made to determine the differences in political activity and ways of voting between groups in Alameda County, comparable in number but differing in wealth. No funds were available for measuring differences in wealth on the basis of average rentals, average income or otherwise, but that such differences exist is a matter of common observation. No elaborate investigation is necessary to show that some sections of a city are poorer than others. The general characteristics of the districts selected are as follows:

1. Piedmont. An incorporated town, without industries, occupying one of the best residential districts of the East Bay, with a large percentage of expensive homes. Population, 1930, 9,333.

2. The residential section surrounding the University of California in Berkeley, a typical university community. Population, 1930, 9,476.

3. The residential section surrounding

Mills College in Oakland. A residential section, in which the faculty represent a smaller percentage than in the Berkeley area. Population, 1930, 10,355.

4. A section in West Oakland, one of the older portions of the city, lying between the business section and the waterfront. A fair percentage of Negroes occupy this section. It is a low rent district and semi-industrial. Population, 1930, 10,142.

Of these sections, Piedmont is undoubtedly the wealthiest; the difference between the second and third is not great, although they probably appear in order of wealth; and the fourth district is undoubtedly the poorest.

In Table I these districts are listed in order of wealth, together with their population as of 1930, the average size of census (not natural) family, and the number and percentage of registered voters, as well as actual voters in that year.

From the foregoing it is evident that

the poorer section furnished a relatively small percentage of registered voters. It undoubtedly has a larger percentage of aliens and possibly a larger percentage of minors, although, curiously enough, the average size of its census family is smaller than in the wealthiest district. There are no data available showing the average size of the natural family in these areas. It is probable, however, that in the richer section of Piedmont there is a relatively large number of parents living with grown

The results of the vote on the city manager type of government were selected because that issue is not distinctly local in character. The results in Oakland clearly indicate that the residents of the poorer sections are overwhelmingly opposed to this type of government. Similar results have been reported in other cities where the plan has been proposed. It serves to illustrate the differences in the political philosophies of our economic classes. The writer has no final explana-

TABLE I  
POPULATION AND VOTERS IN FOUR DISTRICTS IN ALAMEDA COUNTY

DISTRICT	POPULATION	AVERAGE SIZE OF CENSUS FAMILY	REGISTERED VOTERS	PER CENT	ACTUAL VOTERS	PER CENT
Piedmont.....	9,333	3.83	5,587	59.7	3,386	36.5
University of California.....	9,476	2.84	6,297	66.4	3,384	35.7
Mills College.....	10,355	3.49	5,459	52.7	3,320	32.1
West Oakland.....	10,142	3.77	3,684	36.3	1,833	18.1

TABLE II  
VOTE ON CITY MANAGER AMENDMENTS

	FOR	AGAINST
Mills College District.....	60.2	39.8
West Oakland.....	31.4	68.6

sons and daughters, and a much larger percentage of domestic servants. The reasons for the difference in the percentage of registered voters are as yet matters of conjecture. It is also significant that in the poorer section only half of those who registered voted at the general election of that year.

The greatest difference between the districts, however, is to be found in the way in which they voted on certain measures and candidates. Table II gives the percentages for and against the city manager charter amendment cast by the two districts lying in the City of Oakland.

TABLE III  
VOTE ON DAYLIGHT SAVINGS MEASURE

	FOR	AGAINST
Piedmont.....	47.8	52.2
University of California.....	53.7	46.3
Mills College.....	43.6	56.4
West Oakland.....	15.6	84.4

tion of this difference of opinion. On the basis of the Oakland campaign, it would appear that the people of lowest income are opposed to the city manager plan because it normally means that the manager will receive a salary which to them seems excessive. Moreover, they are opposed to the selection of any important official otherwise than by popular vote. Psychologists might say that their economic status gives them an inferiority complex for which they seek compensation by feeling important on election day. No

high office must be filled without them. Unfortunately, we have no equipment for measuring the unconscious motives of voters.

In Table III are the percentages of votes cast for and against the state initiative measure providing for "daylight saving," another proposal of nation-wide interest.

Although the daylight saving measure was defeated throughout the state by a wide margin, the figures for the foregoing districts reveal a remarkable difference of opinion between the economic classes. But one must be a fanatical Marxian to see conflicting class interests involved in this proposal. In California the fight for daylight was led by the oil companies that wanted us to drive around in the long evenings, and the fight against it was made by the theater interests that wanted us to spend our evenings indoors. It was in no sense a "class" conflict and the difference in opinion shown above cannot be explained in terms of class interest. The difference can be explained in part, I think, in terms of the fundamental conservatism of the workers, who, in this case, were less willing to accept a change than the "better" classes. Moreover, in this campaign, the really sensible arguments for and against the measure were swamped by the stupid ones. It was said that a favorable vote meant "getting up earlier in the morning" and even that it interfered with the "natural" way in which a beneficent Providence had divided the day and the night. Such arguments would obviously have less effect upon the University of California community than they would

have in West Oakland, and it is probably in terms of difference in intelligence rather than in conflicting economic interests that the votes of these districts can be explained.

In Table IV are given the results of the vote in the Republican primary for the gubernatorial nominee. In this campaign, Young was running as the incumbent, Rolph had for years been Mayor of San Francisco, and Fitts was the Prosecuting Attorney in Los Angeles County. All of these men are still living and it would be inappropriate to attempt to characterize them or their campaigns. Here we can

TABLE IV  
VOTE FOR GOVERNOR IN REPUBLICAN PRIMARY

	YOUNG	ROLPH	FITTS
Piedmont.....	57.8	30.7	11.5
University of California.....	60.4	20.5	19.1
Mills College.....	47.1	36.3	16.6
West Oakland.....	42.7	55.3	12.0

only observe the difference in the way in which these sections voted.

The difference of political opinion revealed above can hardly be explained on the basis of class interest. All three candidates were seeking the Republican nomination and no appeal was made to any particular economic group or class. The fact that the percentage of votes cast for Rolph in West Oakland was nearly three times as large as it was in the neighborhood of the University of California would indicate that our various economic groups have different standards for measuring the personality of candidates, quite apart from any class interest in their programs.



## SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

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### SOCIAL INSURANCE VS. CHARITY

R. CLYDE WHITE

*Indiana University*

#### I

SOCIAL insurance implies a frank recognition of the facts of maternity, birth, sickness, accident, unemployment, old age, and death. All of these facts except unemployment have been known to the human race since before the time that *Pithecanthropus* lifted his face to the sun on the island of Java. The experience of unemployment came with the industrial revolution and the growth of capitalism. All of these exigencies of life, barring unemployment, are essentially biological, and social insurance is an organized method of coping with such normal experiences. They are as old as the race and will continue to be the common experience of the race as long as it lasts. Unemployment to the rich under capitalism is not a vital, personal problem; indeed, in these United States there are some circles in which the conditions of membership are based upon the fact of voluntary unemployment. But otherwise rich and poor, high and low, are exposed to these vicissitudes of life. They occur with a high degree of regularity. They are so certain that in a million of the population the number of persons who will be afflicted with any one of them in a given year can be predicted mathematically. In most of the enlightened countries of the world this

fact has been recognized, and a system of insurance against their deleterious effects has been set up and made compulsory for all of the population which receives less than a stipulated minimum income. In the United States we have an extraordinary species of stout optimism: we admit only the regularity of industrial accidents to the working population. Maternity, birth, sickness, unemployment, old age, and death are apparently to us surprising experiences.

Instead of social insurance against the ill effects of these facts of life, we have charity. The fundamental principles of charity are sympathy and astonishment. Millions of our population earn less than a thousand dollars a year even in times of the highest prosperity. Yet in families with such incomes we expect maternity, birth, sickness, unemployment, old age, and death to create no disturbance in the family economy—if, indeed, we are not astonished that such things occur. Yet in our myopic way we have provided for the care of the working population through the establishment of city and county general hospitals, poor asylums, public outdoor relief, free public health nursing, maternity clinics, homes for the aged, a politically operated government employment service, and a great variety

of competing private social agencies. If all of these sporadic efforts could for a few months be organized into a single system, it would be perfectly clear that, with the exception of employment service, they are varying forms of poor relief. It matters not to us that many workingmen's families find themselves in dire straits without any knowledge of where to turn for help. If a neighbor has heard of the relief agency or the maternity clinic or the court which kindly relieves the widowed mother of her children, then the family is directed to intercede for help there. Each case is a cause of astonishment.

Charity is very dear to us. We love astonishment, and charitable organization is one of its material embodiments. A prominent automobile manufacturer announced to a listening world, while tens of thousands of idle men walked the roads and streets in search of work, that in his young manhood he was never without a job. He could hardly sleep for astonishment that men were idle and was convinced, at least for publication, that they could find work, if they wanted it. High officials of the United States government have been so astonished at this phenomenon of unemployment that it took them two years to convince themselves of its reality. Yet most of the causes of charitable astonishment persist even in times of prosperity. In such times it is a perennial surprise to us that so many expectant mothers eventually find their ways to the municipal clinic. It makes us indignant to discover that the infant mortality rate among workingmen's families is so much higher than it is among the "best families," and we are amazed that the mothers of these infants did not get better medical attention for them. A man becomes fifty-five or sixty years old, loses his old job, and cannot find another. In a brief space of time his little savings are exhausted, and he must seek charity or

the poor asylum. A wage-earner dies and leaves his family with only enough to bury him and to keep them alive for a few weeks. Then we preach little private sermons, sometimes public sermons, on the carelessness of the workingman; by all the assumptions of our industrial system he should have built up an estate of thirty or forty thousand dollars. These little exceptions to our supposedly self-sufficient population disturb us into astonishment, but rarely do they excite enough cerebral activity to make us doubt the divine origin and supreme rightness of the existing social organization.

## II

But during the last forty years occasional doubts have pushed themselves up and got organized into pieces of a system. There have been enough of those victims of the normal exigencies of life to lead to the establishment of emergency relief agencies by the public authorities. To be sure the motivation of these is largely in the nature of punishment for sin, and the victim does his penance, but some social service is performed. More recently community funds and councils of social agencies have grown up, financed by private subscriptions. They are the descendants of the older charitable giving, but they differ from this in the fact that the regularity of the "contributions" comes almost with the force and certainty of a tax. They are an advance in community organization over the public agencies, because they usually attempt to coördinate all private social agencies in a city, and an effort is made to eliminate duplication and inefficiency, though many agencies struggle valiantly and, often, successfully against these efficiency ideas. Nevertheless, these strivings since the World War have had very great educational value and have led more Americans than ever before to think

in terms of a community adequately and efficiently organized to meet the exigencies and emergencies in the lives of those who out of their own resources cannot cope with them. To be sure, this is still charity; no beneficiary of this system has a moral, economic or legal right to the benefits which he receives. The community is still divided into two large segments: those who provide charity and those who receive it, and the twain shall never meet.

But a new emphasis has appeared this year in both public and private charity. The evils and the dangers of a bisected community are set over against the desirability of a community with a sense and an experience of solidarity. The conviction seems to be emerging that the indigent sick, the aged poor, and the unemployed ought to belong to the community and ought to be enabled to feel that they belong. Suspicion grows that it is not safe for social order to have a large percentage of the population unbound by ties of consciousness of kind to the community. Possibly this suspicion has grown out of the observation of the rise of councils of the unemployed. These unfortunate members of the body politic seem to be developing a solidarity within their own ranks which is contrasted, and often in conflict, with the solidarity of the rest of the community. If such organizations grow to sufficient strength, they might become desperate and challenge the right of dominance of the other part of the population. Somebody has estimated that the violence of the French Revolution was carried out by an unemployed group representing only fifteen per cent of the population, whereas in America almost a third of our population is without income at the present time. But, while this fear is perhaps stronger than any other impulse driving us toward the reconsideration of community solidarity, the new emphasis

upon solidarity carries with it fundamental consciousness of the value of all members of the population. We are beginning to suspect that too many sick cells in the body make a sick body through and through. America has learned a good deal from this depression, and out of it may come some comprehensive and rational scheme to provide protection against the ill effects of the normal exigencies of life. Whatever plan is evolved will, of course, have to fit specifically into the American social order. The experience of other countries with a like civilization will be exceedingly useful, and general principles can be carried over. In details our plan will differ from that of other nations approximately in the degree that our civilization differs from theirs.

When we think of these measures of security and protection this year, we are likely to think of the normal exigencies of life only in terms of the present economic depression. It cannot be too strongly emphasized by social workers and students of social problems that the facts of maternity, birth, sickness, accident, old age, and death appear as regularly as the rising of the sun. If we had erected agencies for caring adequately for these problems in past years, the depression probably would not be so severe on us. Yet these problems existed in 1928 and 1929 just as they exist in 1932. It is a permanent and adequate social program which I want to emphasize, not merely emergency relief for the present. The most satisfactory method that has been devised under capitalism for dealing with these problems is social insurance, and the oldest system of social insurance in the world today is the German system. I want to point out the advantages which systematic protection, afforded by German social insurance, has over our haphazard methods which are motivated by astonishment.

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Before taking up the discussion of German social insurance specifically, it should be pointed out that social insurance is a growing movement throughout the world. Accident insurance exists in 28 countries of Europe, 8 Latin American countries, and 6 countries in other parts of the world (League of Nations Report, 1925). Eighteen countries of Europe and five countries in other parts of the world have sickness insurance. Invalidity and unemployment insurance exist in a smaller number of countries, but the number is growing. France is the latest large nation to introduce a comprehensive system of invalidity insurance. The United States alone among the great nations, except China, has made no progress in adoption of social insurance.

### III

Because Germany has the oldest system of social insurance of any nation and because it is an industrial nation more like the United States than any other continental country, the German experience with social insurance should be extremely suggestive to us. Much earlier than other nations, Germany realized the changed social organization which machine production was creating in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and took steps to equalize the new risks which a machine civilization was bringing to light. Into the place of the independent artisan and small manufacturer stepped the dependent, employed worker and the great manufacturer. Charity had performed its functions reasonably well before the time of large scale, machine industry, but it had become unadapted to an industrial system which made millions of workers dependent for jobs, and therefore dependent for the means of meeting the ordinary exigencies of their lives, upon the will of an employer who might give work one week to ten

thousand men and the next week, because of market conditions, lay off half of them. Statistical methods of predicting the incidence of the common problems of life were developed and were developing further. Since the workingman had to assume most of the personal risks in his own life and that of his family and since these risks were to a considerable extent created by the new machine industry, it seemed to the German Government in 1881 that organized society must spread out these risks and set up a method of meeting them that would be at least moderately scientific. National, or social, insurance appeared to be the logical method for dealing with the new social risks. Consequently, Emperor William I called upon the Reichstag in 1881 to adopt a comprehensive insurance law. The first part of the social insurance system to become effective was sickness insurance in 1883. Accident insurance came into existence the next year. In 1889 the invalidity insurance law went into effect and made provision against the risks of disability to work, old age, and widowhood. The unemployment insurance law was not enacted until 1927. The latter had been in force so short a time, when the present business depression set in, that the German experience with unemployment insurance has little value for us, but the fact that up to the present time the administration of unemployment insurance and the dole, or poor relief, has suffered no confusion, such as occurred in Great Britain, is important to us.

There are, in fact, two systems of social insurance in Germany: one for the wage-earner and one for the salaried employee. Wage-earners are grouped into wage classes for each kind of insurance. The amount of the premiums which they pay is determined by the wage-class in which they happen to be. Some men pay more



than others, but they are also entitled to receive more benefits and services, the latter being also determined by the wage-class of the worker. If a worker earns more than a certain maximum, fixed in each kind of insurance, he cannot be a member of the social insurance system. A similar system, including all types of insurance, exists for the salaried workers. The premiums are higher for salaried employees, and the maximum income which a salaried employee may receive and remain in the system is also higher. The premium rates are certain percentages of wages or salaries; the employee pays part of the premium, and the employer pays part of it, except in the case of accident insurance in which case the employer pays the whole premium. The Reich pays into all funds of the wage-earner's social insurance except accident insurance, but it does not pay into the salaried employee's insurance funds. Membership in an insurance fund is through the worker; members of his family are entitled to benefits and services by virtue of his membership. In 1931 over 20,000,000 workers were covered by sickness insurance, over 23,000,000 were covered by accident insurance, 18,000,000 were covered by invalidity insurance, and over 15,000,000 were covered by unemployment insurance. About 3,500,000 salaried employees were covered by employee's insurance. One may say roughly that about three-fourths of the population of the nation were protected against the common exigencies and emergencies of life by means of social insurance in 1931.

An American always wants to know whether such a system pays its way or not. Is the social insurance system solvent? Has it built up reserves, as a private insurance company would, to carry it over difficult periods? The answer to these questions is, Yes, except in the case of

unemployment insurance which had run so short a time that large reserves could not be accumulated. Leaving out unemployment insurance, the other forms of wage-earner's insurance had reserves of more than a billion dollars in 1930, and the excess of receipts over expenditures in that year was more than \$125,000,000. In the same year the salaried employee's insurance had reserves of about \$400,000,000, and the excess of receipts over expenditures in that year was about \$75,000,000. Because of the depression, reserves have not accumulated so rapidly in the last two years, but there is still a safe excess of receipts over expenditures in all forms of social insurance except unemployment insurance. German social insurance is, therefore, solvent.

How does this social insurance system work out to the individual? A considerable degree of local responsibility for the administration of the insurance funds and agencies is maintained. The National Insurance Office stands at the top with supreme administrative authority. Then comes the Superior Insurance Office of the district, and finally the Local Insurance Office which handles local matters. Local, unpaid committees supervise the work of the sickness insurance and invalidity insurance; within the letter of the law these committees have some latitude to adapt rules of procedure to their local situations. They can determine whether or not relief or assistance in kind will be continued beyond the statutory period, and they are responsible for the financial condition of the funds. There is nothing impersonal about the German social insurance system. Almost every citizen makes his money contribution to it, and the majority of the population at one time or another receives direct benefits from it. Like any citizen, the German exercises freely his right to kick, as well as to ap-

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prove, the operations of social insurance. While social insurance began through the enactment of a statute by the Reichstag, during its fifty years of existence it has so permeated the nation that it resembles a folk institution. Nobody thinks of abandoning any part of it: I interviewed officials of both Der Allgemeine Deutschen Gewerkschaftsbund and Die Vereinigung der Deutschen Arbeitgeberverbände regarding this point. There is some pressure for retrenchment to conform to the reduced economic resources of the nation but none for abandonment. The admiration which the Germans have for the system is reflected in a statement by Goldmann and Grotjahn: "Despite this haphazard evolution, despite the overwhelming number of provisions which make the legislation difficult to understand and survey—the number of sections is, indeed, only exceeded in the Civil Code—German social insurance is beyond doubt a monumental work. It is impossible to over-rate what it has done for the public health. It has applied the results of clinical and hygienic knowledge on the largest scale, and, to use a metaphor, has changed the gold of theory into the small coin of practical measures for the benefit of the insured far beyond what the strict letter of the law required of it."

The individual workingman and salaried employee in Germany are protected at every point from the normal exigencies of life, and their families are protected by virtue of the membership of the worker in the insurance system. If a man has an accident, he receives medical treatment and cash benefits to support his family during the time of his inability to work. If he is permanently and totally disabled, he passes to the invalidity insurance and receives a weekly allowance during his lifetime. If he is partly disabled for life, he may return to work at his old job or a new

one and receive partial compensation for life from the invalidity insurance. When a worker gets sick, he gets whatever medical treatment is required and receives a cash allowance for maintenance of his family. If members of the worker's family are sick, they receive treatment and some cash allowance to cover additional expenses to which the family is put. Expectant mothers receive medical service during the whole period of pregnancy and a cash allowance for six weeks before confinement and for six weeks afterwards. The new-born baby is given a cash allowance to meet any special requirements of food that he may have. These allowances are not large, but they are certain and they assist the family to advantage. At age 65 a worker is superannuated and receives weekly payments from the old age insurance fund—this is not a non-contributory pension in the American sense, but more in the nature of an annuity to which the worker has paid premiums. If a worker dies and leaves a widow and small children, they receive survivors' allowances. When a child passes his fifteenth birthday, he ceases to receive this allowance, unless it is continued in order to permit him to carry his education further. Full orphans ordinarily go to an orphan's home; infants and very small children are not kept in the same home with older children. The homes for children above eight years of age are in reality little republics: the children do not exhibit the attitudes of insecurity and dependence which ordinarily go with life in an orphan's home. The attitudes are more like those of children attending a first-rate boarding school.

From birth to death the common problems of the individual are anticipated and provision made for relief through the social insurance system. No man, woman, or child need fear lack of medical care or

means of subsistence at the level provided. In the case of the unemployed in 1932 the subsistence provision is less adequate than it formerly was, but this is due to the general economic depression piled on top of all the other causes of distress which have beset Germany since the World War, not the least of these causes of distress being the iniquitous Treaty of Versailles. But, barring a major collapse like the business depression we are now having, the German citizen has a sense of security unknown to the American workingman and salaried employee. Referring to this fact, Professor Alfred Mannes, the leading authority on both private and social insurance in Germany and head of the Deutscher Verein für Versicherungs-Wissenschaft, said recently: "Without any doubt, the German social insurance in the last half century has been of the greatest importance and value to the social welfare of the whole economic life. If there is now a financial crisis of the social insurance, the cause lies not on the side of the insurance but in the general economic catastrophe. . . ."

#### IV

The social insurance system probably has its strongest defense in the assurance of a sufficient and effective labor power which it gives. The employer of labor wants an adequate supply of labor, and he wants labor which is efficient. If during a period of unemployment the worker does not have sufficient means of subsistence to maintain his ability to work unimpaired, then it is a loss to the employer as well as to the worker. And equally important, it is a loss to the State, or society at large. In America we have difficulty in thinking of the State as having an interest in the welfare of individuals; our theory is the out-worn dogma of *laissez-faire* which taught us that the func-

tion of the State is to referee the fight between individuals but not to fight for either of the participants—unless perchance one of the individuals happened to be a manufacturer or producer of raw materials who wanted a tariff. But the German citizen is conscious of being a part of the State, and he looks to the State as an instrument for the positive and concrete realization of his welfare along with the welfare of all of his fellow-citizens. Social insurance is the systematic way by which Germany guarantees itself a maximum of labor power at maximum effectiveness. The Germans do not show their emotions very much; one would look long to witness an expression of emotion toward the "unfortunate" such as accompanies almost every campaign for charitable funds in this country. He saves his emotion by providing in advance for systematic protection against the material effects of conditions which make the "unfortunates." It is a national policy to protect every element of the population against the common exigencies of daily experience; indeed, it is regarded as no more extraordinary to do this than to provide for the public school system. Schools and social insurance are simply two coördinate institutions in the nation. The schools provide the training in vocational skills and introduce the child to his civilization; the social insurance system protects him against the normal exigencies of life so that he can work effectively and make his contribution to the nation. It is curious that the American people was the first to establish a national system of public schools but has never seen the preservation and maintenance of labor power as a national problem. We have seen the necessity of transferring intellectual culture and vocational skills to the younger generation, but we have not seen the importance of keeping it fit to use

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In the early days of German social insurance primary interest centered in relief, but as time passed the center of interest moved to prevention of accidents and sickness, which reduce working capacity, and to the restoration of working capacity. Not only did the German nation learn the value of prevention and restoration, but it learned that these ends could be served best through the integrated program which social insurance made possible. Out of experience with social insurance developed methods for maximum conservation of working capacity in members of the insurance system and members of their families. Causes of accident and illness were sought not only in the individual but in the social environment. Consequently, social insurance came to concern itself with the social and economic milieu of the insured. The authorities asked: of what use is hospital treatment, if the individual must pile up debts and return to work while he is still in a weakened condition? He is inefficient, and he endangers his working capacity permanently. What is the use of treating the worker for tuberculosis, unless preventive care is given his family? He may recover about the time one of his family develops the disease, and then he is exposed again. Social insurance concerns itself with housing and sanitation and accomplishes its purposes through education and direct administrative measures. All of these measures are of particular importance for the growing child. Consequently, social insurance must be interested in the whole life of the individual, on purely economic grounds, if no other, because working capacity begins, unfolds, flourishes, and declines in a cycle. Because of attention to maternity, childbirth, and infancy, working capacity is

more likely to have a good start and unfold normally.

It is obvious that all of the preventive and restorative work of social insurance is organized around health. Old age insurance is the only kind of insurance which does not have as its aim the restoration or maintenance of working capacity. About eighty per cent of the physicians in Germany derive all or a part of their income from service with the social insurance system. Physicians are paid for their services by the sickness insurance funds, and the insured may choose his own physician, subject sometimes to certain restrictions. The phrase, State Medicine, in America is a sort of red flag to many physicians. It is supposed to forecast the ethical and scientific decay of the profession. But if the state of medical science in Germany is typical of its achievement under social insurance, it appears that this phrase is a slogan whose meaning for society is very doubtful. German medicine stands at the forefront with the best medical science of the world, and I believe German internal medicine is supposed to be leading the world. Yet all of this has happened under fifty years of sickness and invalidity insurance. The confidential relation between patient and physician either has not been impaired, or the directions in which it has been altered do not seem to be important to the German public.

That the German physicians have done a good job for public health is apparent from some statistics. From the 1880's to the 1910's the average length of life in Germany increased 12 years, and in Great Britain, which has sickness insurance, in the same period it increased 10 years. In France which did not have sickness insurance during this period, the length of life increased only 8 years. If life-expectancy after the 20th birthday is taken, the con-



trast is much sharper: there was a gain of five years in Germany, five years in Great Britain, and less than one year in France. Commenting upon this fact, the great French industrialist, M. Louis Loucheur said in a debate in the Chamber of Deputies in February, 1930: "In the year 1880 France had the lowest death rate of any country in Europe; it was 20 per cent less than Germany. In the year 1930 the death rate in France stood 25 per cent higher than the German rate. Why? Because Germany has social insurance." France is now setting up an elaborate system of social insurance, because she believes the health of the nation can be promoted best in that way. Either one or the other of two things is true: public health in Germany improved, because social insurance improved the organization of means for the promotion of health; or health improved, because medical science advanced in Germany. If the latter is the explanation, then medical science is able to advance under a social insurance system which is one kind of state medicine. This should not be thought extraordinary: the teaching profession, once an individualistic affair, has long since been taken over by the State in America, and general education has made its greatest advances since this occurred. Surely health is no less important to the state and nation than general education.

Social insurance has another important effect on community organization. It tends to draw all social work into its orbit and to integrate all the efforts toward social amelioration. This reduces the confusion and duplication of work which is otherwise inevitable. It becomes a gigantic welfare system which can set up standards of work and personnel. Needless to say, there are no elective offices in the German social insurance system. The officials are a part of the civil service and

are chosen for their competence. No public welfare system, social insurance or other kind, can operate efficiently, if any of the personnel are elected by popular vote or are subject to influence from partisan politics. But if the personnel is chosen by civil service methods or by some other objective means, the loyalty of the personnel and the efficiency of the individual officers increase with time. If the system is social insurance, then the opportunities to integrate all types of ameliorative work are greatly increased, because social insurance is concerned with a few basic human problems.

One other point should be made clear: the premiums paid to the social insurance funds do not represent an additional tax on industry or other property except for the relatively small amount contributed by the Reich for administration. They are a part of the wages bill. It is estimated that they amount to about 17 per cent of the national wages bill in Germany. I asked representatives of both labor and employers whether or not wages would be about this much higher, if there were no social insurance system, and the answer was affirmative in both cases. They pointed out, however, that, if Germany did not have social insurance, there would be a huge tax assessment to meet the necessities of poor relief and that the country is better off with social insurance than it would be without it.

## V

Certain general advantages of the German social insurance system should be emphasized. The German thinks easily in terms of *national* welfare; the American business man is inclined to think in terms only of the individual. When some protection is proposed for the workingman, the American is likely to see it only as a benevolent, or malevolent, concession to

him. He does not easily see the individual as a unit related to the destiny of the nation. But German social insurance is national. It has advantages for the whole population. In America it is doubtful that we could get national consideration of a social insurance system, partly because we are so little accustomed to thinking in terms of a national society, and partly because of constitutional limitations. We shall probably have to consider social insurance by states, but this fact need not deter us from giving it serious consideration and need not retard its adoption in states which see its advantages. Workmen's compensation came in America in this way, and other forms of social insurance may also come that way. Nevertheless, there are benefits to the nation as a whole which should be weighed.

Social insurance results in compulsory savings. Members of the German social insurance system saved more than one and a half billion dollars in 1931, and in the same year the system, without the unemployment insurance, had reserves to the extent of over a billion dollars invested. It is doubtful whether these same wage-earners would have saved this much money voluntarily. Some wage-earners save more money than their insurance premiums amount to. Those whose incomes amount to more than about \$800 per year must save by other methods, because they cannot be members of the insurance system; salaried employees who earn more than about \$2,000 per year, cannot belong to the salaried employee's insurance system. In addition to the amounts accumulated through compulsory saving, the savings banks of Prussia, not the whole of Germany, had deposited in them in 1931 about one and a quarter billion dollars. Most of this was deposited by persons whose incomes were

large enough to exclude them from the social insurance system, and undoubtedly most of it was deposited by persons of modest incomes, at least that is the assumption made by American savings banks. Now the effect of such savings, especially savings in the form of social insurance reserves, represents a spread of purchasing power through time. It contributes to evenness of national consumption. This is a matter of basic importance to national economic planning. Planning involves both production and consumption, though the emphasis is generally always placed upon production. But planned consumption, as represented by the German social insurance system, contributes in an important way, or may do so, to planned production. The very considerable sums of money in the hands of the social insurance system, which must be invested, may be used, as they have been in Germany, to stimulate production in desirable directions. The spreading of purchasing power and the planning of production may be interlocked to the advantage of economic orderliness in the nation.

Under social insurance the risks to which an individual is normally exposed are spread through the entire population. Accident, sickness, invalidity, old age, and death are the risks with which private insurance deals in the case of those who are able to carry it. They are predictable by actuarial methods. Unemployment is less predictable, though seasonal unemployment may be an exception because it is periodic in the mathematical sense. Thus, social insurance is a vast system for the coöperative assumption of risks. It is financially sound, other things being equal, because it involves such large numbers of persons. One weakness of social insurance by states in America will be found to lie in the relatively small

number of persons insured; stability increases with the increase of the number of the insured. In some countries, like Denmark, membership in the social insurance system is largely voluntary, but after fifty years of experience with compulsory social insurance the Germans favor the compulsory type, because it assures the inclusion of approximately all workingmen and provides, on the one hand, for general protection and, on the other, for the maximum spreading of risks.

There is a wide-spread opinion in America that an elaborate system of social insurance endangers the accumulation of capital. It is often believed that large sums go into insurance premiums which should be available for capital investment and reserves. When this argument is advanced along with the statement that wages would be proportionately higher, if there were no social insurance, it involves a contradiction. If the insurance premiums are in fact deductions from wages, which they certainly are in part, then in the absence of social insurance they would not go into capital and reserves anyway. They would go to the workers who would save them or spend them for consumable goods, most likely the latter. Under social insurance there is actually an accumulation of funds which are invested in business enterprises or which become the basis of credit for capital expansion. However, this argument gains some support from the present practice of governmental fixation of wages in Germany. If wage scales are fixed by the government, it might be possible to increase the costs of insurance to such a height that the individual entrepreneur would be unable to save for capital investment and reserves. On the other hand, the funds in the possession of the insurance authorities must be paid out

as benefits or invested. If the scale of benefits is too high, then the insurance authorities would have little to invest. Such a situation might lead to a stabilization of the amount of capital or even to a gradual diminution of capital. The German employers believe that in the present economic conditions in which Germany finds herself it is in fact difficult for the business man to save for capital investment and reserves. Consequently, they want to retrench the system. This may be considered from another viewpoint. If there were sufficient margin between the total premiums and the total benefits paid, the insurance authorities would invest the surplus. State owned capital would be the result, which in Germany already amounts to a vast sum—and is increasing in America through the activities of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Hence, a social insurance system may or may not prevent the accumulation of capital. In the past it has not prevented Germany from becoming the greatest industrial nation on the continent of Europe. The point at which capital accumulation is endangered is a moving position, and this position must be determined at different times.

Incidentally, it should be mentioned that private insurance exists and grows alongside of social insurance. Between 1925 and 1931 the amount of life insurance in Germany increased two hundred per cent, or from six billion to almost twenty million marks. That is not a large amount when compared with the amount of life insurance outstanding in America, but the proportion of the population of Germany which can afford to carry life insurance is much smaller than it is in America—the per capita income of Germany was about one-third the per capita income in America. Of course, private insurance companies in America write all

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kinds of insurance, but the number of American workingmen who carry life insurance sufficient for the protection of their families is small. The great sums of so-called industrial insurance are really nothing but burial insurance. Health, accident, and disability insurance with private companies is becoming so expensive that not a large proportion of the American population can afford it. That is one of the reasons why Germany has social insurance. Those able to carry life insurance or other private insurance may still do so in Germany. If they are financially able to carry private insurance, it is almost certain that they would be excluded from the social insurance system because their incomes are too high. Obviously, there is some competition between private and social insurance, but it is not as great as sometimes supposed. However, the Germans would put national welfare ahead of any particular private business, such as the insurance business, if a choice had to be made. From their point of view social insurance for the workingman is essential to national welfare. Private life insurance is important but less so than social insurance.

Unquestionably the social insurance system of Germany has increased the solidarity of the nation and has, thereby, contributed to social stability. Americans who are concerned over the growing unrest of the unemployed would do well to consider social insurance as "fire insurance" for the future. In Germany the long and exhausting war, ending in defeat, tended to disrupt orderly social processes in the nation. Further dissatisfaction and unrest were created by the harsh terms of the Treaty of Versailles. Communist governments were set up in many cities, but they survived only brief periods. Then from the political right came the Kapp Putsch which for

a few days routed the Ebert Government. But these uprisings from the left and from the right were checked because of the firm belief of the masses of German workingmen in the justice of the social policies which were adopted long before the World War and which were developing in the direction of increased protection to the worker. Some of the social policies of Germany have been outside the field of social insurance, but in the mind of the German workingman the social insurance system represents the benevolent intentions of the Government and expresses in terms of social welfare the solidarity of the German people.

Compulsory social insurance is both economically and socially sound. In a society with a high development of technology it is infinitely better adapted to meet the common exigencies in the life of the workingman than charity which might have had some defence in an agricultural society with rigid social classes or castes. Charity has the psychological implications that go with a theological age, while social insurance has the psychological implications of a scientific and industrial age. Social insurance accepts the facts of maternity, birth, sickness, accident, unemployment, old age, and death as inevitable; charity treats each case as an extraordinary event. Social insurance is guided by intelligent use of facts. Charity is motivated by feeling or theological considerations. Social insurance may begin in a nation, like charity, with its sole objective the relief of distress, but it inevitably develops a program of prevention and restoration. It takes all of society into its purview and interprets social conditions in the light of their importance to the entire social order. It elevates the self-respect of the individual worker, and it makes him aware of his importance to the nation.



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New Books Received.....		472

FIVE YEARS OF "PLANNING" LITERATURE\*

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The original purpose of this study of recent literature dealing with a planned society was two-fold. The first was to explore certain trends in social planning as measured by recent literature as a part of a possible project of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends on the increasing range and application of the social sciences to modern social problems. The second purpose was to explore the field to determine the amount and nature of source material which would be of value to the Southern Regional Study.<sup>1</sup>

\* Reprints of *Five Years of "Planning" Literature*, including the Representative Bibliography on Social Planning, may be secured for ten cents postpaid from SOCIAL FORCES, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.—*Editors.*

<sup>1</sup> The two main volumes of the studies of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends were published in January, 1933. The Southern Regional Study is being made under the auspices of

In the examination of the literature of the 1920's which resulted in the discovery of more than 1,000 titles, naturally the term "planning" is a comprehensive one, including not only literature of technical planning, but the large body of literature in which the reader may find general and specific discussions of and about planning. These titles include 750 periodical articles; 133 books; and 44 bulletins, pamphlets, reports, and other fugitive materials.

The present paper deals with the titles representing primarily the five-year period preceding 1932, in which the rapid rise of general titles was most evident. In this paper, in addition to evidences of trends in recent planning, and especially regional

the Southern Regional Committee of the Social Science Research Council and directed by Howard W. Odum.

planning, there is the additional objective of providing source material for the special study of local and community planning and for indicating the need of further planning, and of defining, analyzing, and focusing specific and scientific study of the present mass discussion.

The appended bibliography is not all-inclusive. Doubtless some interesting plans and references to them are absent. The authors have at least another hundred titles yet to be annotated and classified. The aim has been to offer a suggestive synthesis and bibliography of some of the heterogenous data, an effort involving much arranging, discarding, and rearranging. Problems of distinction and classification have arisen. For example, what of working plans as compared with proposed plans? Such a separation was tried and promptly abandoned, caution demanding the safer scheme of totals as they now appear in Table III and Table IV. Should Wisconsin's (Groves) plan come under Social Insurance, Unemployment, Industry, or State-wide planning? Cross-indexing not being feasible it was placed under the last named. The classifications have evolved from the attempt to focus upon the long-range and regional aspects even for Unemployment and Emergency plans, where, at least in their implications, they reach toward the permanent rather than into the merely local and temporary situation.

Not all "plans" seem to deserve the name, many of them beginning as hunches or as policies, then perhaps developing content and direction enough to be designated as plans. On the other hand, as in *Rural Vermont*, a group of citizens may deliberately formulate an extensive "program of scientific planning for action." All kinds of programs have emerged, from the broad abstractions of a "planned economy" to the clear-cut revelations where

new towns rise up and the former slums have passed away.

As to the method of discovering material: The *Social Science Abstracts*, *Public Affairs Information Service*, and the *International Index* were of special value in locating fruitful sources among the jour-

TABLE I  
GENERAL TYPE OF PERIODICAL

	NUMBER OF TITLES
Current Events.....	155
Economics, Business, Industry.....	126
Sociology, Social Work.....	117
City Planning, Engineering.....	109
Political Science, Government, Law.....	85
Conservation, Rural Life, Agricultural Economics.....	49
Foreign Publications in English.....	54
Foreign Language.....	31
Miscellaneous.....	24
	750

TABLE II  
DISTRIBUTION OF 927 TITLES ON PLANNING, BY YEARS

	NUMBER OF TITLES	PERCENTAGE
1923-1927*	71	7.6
1928	96	10.4
1929	164	17.7
1930	184	19.9
1931	306	33.0
1932†	106	11.4
	927	100.0

\* Scattered titles only.

† First half only.

nals grouped as to type in Table I. The list immediately following gives the periodicals that were systematically studied for the five years 1927-1932: *American City*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *City Planning*, *Current History*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Journal of Farm*

*Economics, Monthly Labor Review, National Municipal Review, New Republic, Review of Reviews, Social Forces, Sociology and Social Research, Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, Survey Graphic, Survey Midmonthbly.*

*Business Week, Foreign Affairs, Harvard Business Review, International Labour Review, Journal of Forestry, Literary Digest, Mountain Life and Work, Nation, Nation's Business, National Conference of Social Work Proceedings,*

TABLE III  
GENERAL CLASSIFICATION OF 927 TITLES ON PLANNING WITH DETAILED DISTRIBUTION BY YEARS

CLASSIFICATION	1913-1917	1918	1919	1930	1931	HALF 1932	SUB- TOTALS	TOTALS
International.....		9	14	13	20	8		64
National:								
United States.....	2		4	3	18	10	37	
Foreign.....	3	5	12	16	39	7	82	119
State.....	3	2	4	2	7	5		23
Regional:								
General.....	11	11	10	18	19	2	71	
Communication.....	1	2	6	6	4	1	20	
Forestry.....			2	10	7	2	21	
Metropolitan.....	13	5	14	18	14	7	71	
New Towns.....	9	10	6	9	5	1	40	
Rural.....	2	3	1	4	3	1	14	237
Economic:								
General.....	1	1	5	4	24	15	50	
Agricultural.....	4	7	14	21	26	5	77	
Industrial.....	2	6	9	1	26	8	52	179
Social:								
General.....	1	7	6	6	8	3	31	
Child Welfare.....	2	1	4	6	3	1	17	
Community.....		1	3	4	7		15	
Government.....	3	5	14	6	3	2	33	
Health.....	4	5	8	8	7	4	36	
Housing.....	2	7	7	4	2	4	26	
Social Insurance.....		5	7	7	6	2	27	185
Unemployment.....		1	5	14	40	10		70
Emergency.....	7	2	6	2	8			25
Need of Planning.....	1	1	3	2	10	8		25
	71	96	164	184	306	106		927

Other Journals from which at least four titles were obtained, are the following: *American Economic Review, American Labor Legislation Review, Bulletin Taylor Society,*

*New Statesman and Nation, New York Times, Outlook and Independent, Public Health Journal, Public Health Nurse, Public Management, Railway Age, Social Service Review,*

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*Spectator*, *State Bank U. S. S. R. Economic Survey*, *Western City*. In addition to the above there are a dozen journals yielding three titles each, a score with two titles each, and a hundred or more with one title. Pertinent material also came from two dozen foreign language issues.

Table II is suggestive of the growing interest in planning.

In connection with Tables III and IV, it should not be assumed that the first four classifications represent a precise and

TABLE IV  
CONDENSED CLASSIFICATION WITH INDICATION OF  
SOURCES OF 927 TITLES ON PLANNING

CONDENSED CLASSIFICATION	PERIODICALS	BOOKS	BULLETINS, REPORTS, PAMPHLETS, ETC.	TOTALS
International.....	48	15	1	64
National.....	82	32	5	119
State.....	21	1	1	23
Regional.....	196	29	12	237
Economic.....	141	26	12	179
Social.....	155	20	10	185
Unemployment.....	62	8		70
Emergency.....	21	1	3	25
Need of Planning.....	24	1		25
	750	133	44	927

limited grouping of politico-geographic schemes as their juxtaposition might suggest, nor that the next four deal solely with socio-economic aspects. An analysis of the materials would reveal cross-classification possibilities as already indicated.

#### INTERNATIONAL

Twenty-eight of these titles deal more or less directly with reparations, almost exclusively with the Dawes and Young plans. Two dozen more treat of the general economic-industrial-political aspects of the international situation. Many

minds have said in essence that the problems of tariffs and arms must be tackled, the standards of living of all peoples should be improved, and that better balance between production and consumption must somehow be accomplished, to achieve which a World Planning Board ought to be established. "Resolute action" by the banking systems of America, England, and France is needed, and something must be done about controlling business cycles if depressions are to be prevented. "A world survey of capacity for production, actual output, and real consumption" is another demand. For the countries of western Europe a ten-year plan would include "trustification and cartelization" of industries already ripe for such a program. Since economic planning is becoming international, "economic pressure applied by all nations against a belligerent might nullify its economic planning to a degree where it would accede to demands," thus making economic sanction a threat. A plan to stabilize silver through an international bank making possible silver at a dollar an ounce if enough nations coöperated, is another suggestion. From the standpoint of disarmament and peace, several titles consider such matters as the Briand Plan for European Union, the Pan-American Peace Plans, and former Ambassador Houghton's referendum war-prevention scheme. The enumeration under the head of *International* would be lacking without mention of the Williamstown Institute of Politics.

#### NATIONAL

Of the 119 titles, 37 are concerned with the United States and 82 with the foreign scene.

*United States:* A few of these are of comprehensive nature ranging from the generalizations of Norman Thomas, Will



Durant, Stuart Chase, and President Hoover with his twenty-year plan, to the (general) specifications in C. A. Beard's five-year plan. One feature of the last named is the creation of a National Economic Council or Planning Board, the need for which in its essential points is also in the minds of many others among whom are G. Greer, George Soule, and L. L. Lorwin. As typical of general economic planning for the nation, the reader is referred to the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July 1932, the contributions of Paul Blanshard, K. T. Compton, and W. T. Foster, where respectively the virtues of socialism, of long-range public financing, and public works are set forth.<sup>2</sup> Propositions connected with public utilities and power are offered by J. B. Eastman and others. In regard to natural resources, prominent engineers give their suggestions especially on conservation and reclamation needs. In the realm of industry in addition to the well-known Swope plan, the president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers suggests a national program based on the success of planning in his field.

*Foreign:* With a dozen titles representing the interest of several foreign countries in some form of National Economic Planning Council, there remains a miscellany of programs to which space forbids any detailed reference. More than half of these programs have already seen action.

The National Council System has come into prominence in Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Czecho-Slovakia, and lately in Mexico. Some councils stress research and advice, others serve as planning bodies, but both aspects are implicit in the system.

<sup>2</sup> See also Hugo Haan. *American Planning*. American Academy of Political and Social Science, March 1932, 51 pp.

#### STATE

Here the purpose is not to discuss from the political science standpoint the larger task of planned reconstruction of state government, but to mention that there are many specific developments and state-wide trends dealt with more fully under other heads later in this article. Conservation of natural resources is prominent, its implications lying in several fields such as recreation, regional planning, and employment programs. Unemployment in particular has been attacked systematically in several states including Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Wisconsin, and others. In many states there is evidence not only of stress upon the economic and industrial but also upon the educational and aesthetic,—art, architecture, music, and highway beautification.

#### REGIONAL

Regionalism is an all-embracing word. The Europeans, especially the English, are quite familiar with the concept. Lewis Mumford and Benton Mackaye have several articles during 1927 and 1928 in the *Sociological Review*. By 1930 America was talking it rather freely, so much so that several conferences were held, not the least of these being the Round Table on Regionalism held at the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia in July, 1931.

It is impossible to consider regional planning apart from city planning and the details of communication, highways, airways, traffic, zoning, and the like. It also includes the whole problem of beautification in metropolitan and rural areas where the assault on ugliness and waste is gathering momentum.

A glance at the technical aspects of planning for the region brings in the contribution of the architect and of that newer profession, the city planner. Space cannot be

given here to the voluminous evidence of the realities of city planning.

If a sub-heading "open spaces" were to be used, under it would come New Jersey's experience with a county system of recreation and parks, and reference to the Berkshire and Southwest Lancashire developments in England. In considering "Open Spaces in the Regional Plan" the contrast between European and American urban expansion is significant.

As for beauty, such titles as these speak for themselves: "The Aesthetic Relation of Town and Country in Regional Planning," "Our Revolt Against Ugliness," "Beauty and the Booster," "Cultural Opportunities in Regional Planning" and "Planning Design."

In one number of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* can be found twenty-five articles on zoning, after which the reader may, if he wishes, thread his way through the "Traffic Problem in Relation to Town and Regional Planning."

The year 1926 saw the publication of Harlean James' *Land Planning in the United States for City, State, and Nation*. America seems to have lagged behind Europe both as to policies and legislation. However, beginnings have been made, as in New Jersey which established in 1930 a Regional District Act dividing the state into four parts.

What about the cost? C. A. Beard, for one raised the question in 1926. Is a new science of municipal economics developing? Dallas, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee are evidence of good fiscal planning in conjunction with surrounding areas. In general, however, a fuller answer to questions of finance seems more than just around the corner—rather over the hills and far away.

Is there any clear evidence that regional planning is a going concern rather than a

mere academic occupation? In "The New Exploration" Mackaye wrote in 1925 of the forestry and power development planning in the Berkshire-Green Mountain section of Massachusetts and Vermont. By 1929 the "Montachusett Regional Conference" dealt with an experiment in inter-community coöperation involving three cities and eleven towns in Massachusetts and six towns in New Hampshire. The master plan of Mercer County, New Jersey is described in the article: "County Planning Proves its Value." Literature on Westchester County, New York, began appearing shortly after the conception of its plan in 1922. Here is a comprehensive program in all its details. In the West there is "Provincial Planning in Alberta," and in Wyoming a regional development scheme centering around the hot springs in the south of the state. Possibly the first instance of larger planning in the South is that of Glynn County, Georgia. England, of course, has been elaborating town and regional planning especially since the days of Ebenezer Howard.

A generation ago who would have thought it worth while to embark upon a survey of planning and zoning in this country? Yet a publication of 1930 gives a survey of 120 cities in 42 states; and in 1931, under the caption, "How far have we come and Where do we go from here," Merriam covers the past 25 years with an added forecast for the next quarter century, the implication of which is more and more planning.

*Communication:* Much that might be included under this head appears under "Metropolitan Regions." A passing glance here shows railroads, waterways, highways, radio, telephone, and telegraph with a definite trend toward centralization of control. Controversy has been prominent on the part of railways and inland waterways. After years of discussion,

highway differentiation is taking place fairly rapidly. Regional surveys in which engineers and road-builders are immensely interested proceed space. In the larger implications of communication such projects as the Pan-American Highway will eventually make possible comfortable motoring from Seattle to Buenos Aires. "The Young Plan for Monopoly" describes a scheme for international telegraphic, radio, and cable unification owned or regulated by the government. Incidentally the U. S. S. R., with its unified system of wires and wireless, plans to spend 308,000,000 rubles for such service during the five years ending in 1935.

*Forestry:* Reforestation is no new idea. Between 1810 and 1813 a large part of the Muette forest in Normandy was replanted following pastoral denudation. England between 1921 and 1929 established 152 forest units, planted 54,000 acres, provided a second decennial grant of nine million pounds, and for large numbers of laborers guaranteed 150 days' work a year. In this country New York and Wisconsin are among the tree planters. Pasadena is one city that spends liberally for its 5000 trees a year. Our Federal Farm Board offers a program for immediate execution in the South. The Canadian government has instituted a seven-point plan in British Columbia.

Abundant titles there are, especially in the *Journal of Forestry*, on what ought to be done. Sub-marginal lands should produce; men need work.

*Metropolitan:* The trend here is quite clear. Ninety per cent of Japan's cities have town planning regulations involving suburban development. In England and Wales by 1928 there were 58 regions including 25 per cent of the area and 75 per cent of the population. In Russia the Moscow plan represents the aim of the U. S. S. R. The proposals and accom-

plishments in and around Baltimore, Boston, Cincinnati, Denver, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Pittsburg, New York, Saint Louis, and other large cities are significant for metropolitan unification.

As to finance, Montreal furnishes an example of the consolidation of municipal borrowing powers on a regional scale.

"Slum Clearance" (and slum prevention through zoning, planning, and satellite towns) is a term more familiar to England than to America.

Specific instances of metropolitan planning are:

*New York City:* The Regional Plan embracing a 50 mile radius, "planning big" with an eye to change, is set forth in large volumes and briefly described in numerous articles.

*Philadelphia:* The "Tri-State Plan" deals with the inter-relation of the Philadelphia-Camden and Trenton-Wilmington regions, especially within a radius of 35 miles from Philadelphia.

*Cleveland:* For a number of years the entire Cuyahoga region has been working on a plan for four cities and fifty villages with Cleveland as the center.

*Detroit:* This city and three local counties have a "Master plan" to solve traffic problems not only within the city proper but also in accordance with the needs of outlying subdivisions.

*District of Columbia:* Washington and the neighboring areas of Maryland and Virginia already show the effects of the joint programs to improve that region.

Sundry other metropolitan schemes would include Milwaukee's coöperative planning since 1924 with its outlying districts; Rochester's plan of 1929, some of which has already been completed; Kansas City's new suburban community; Santa Barbara's three-year program of 93 major activities; and the joint plan of three villages in suburban Chicago.

Mention may be made, in concluding this section, of a few of the foreign cities where active planning goes on apace; Essen, Hamburg, London, Nanking, Paris, and Tokyo.

*New Towns:* One of the larger quests of the twentieth century is the union of beauty and efficiency. Of the American

made-to-order towns Radburn, New Jersey and Kingsport, Tennessee have been given much publicity. Among others slightly less prominent are Kristenstad, Texas; Elizabethton, Tennessee; Clewiston, Florida; Kohler, Wisconsin; Boulder City, Nevada; Mariemont, Ohio; San Clemente and Palos Verdes, California; Audubon Village, New York; Jackson Heights and Sunnyside, Long Island. Abroad are Letchworth and Welwyn in England, inspired by Howard about 1900; and Australia's capital, Canberra. In Canada's northern isolation is the industrial town of Spruce Falls. In the southern United States the trend may be seen in mill developments such as Enka near Asheville, North Carolina, and in Chicopee, Georgia. Whether all members of this list are still "going concerns" is not so much the point. Modern man dreams on in elaborate fashion as a glance at some of our highly illustrated journals will attest.

*Rural:* While regional planning in America had its birth in efforts to conserve and improve country life, the present tendency is toward seeing the region whole. The rural periphery of a metropolis or the rural interstices between several urban centers are included in such projects as the Regional Plan of New York or the Montachusett plan already mentioned. (Thus the subject is implicit in many of the writings throughout the preceding sections of this article.) The present-day interpretation of land utilization is to be found in programs for wiser use of non-productive or poorly productive land. The lineal descendant of the Conservation Movement, so vocal in the early 1900's, appears in the concept of developed natural resources at the heart of the region. Another rural region builder is seen to be the decentralization of industry by moving factories to rural areas, several plans for which the governor of New York, now

President of the United States, has been enthusiastic. In the realm of theory such different viewpoints are represented as those of F. A. Waugh and Benton Mackaye.

#### ECONOMIC

"Economic planning" is a term of many meanings and myriad problems. Whole regions are grappling with it under such organization names as the *New England Council*, *Southeastern Council* (eight states), and the *Rocky Mountain Council*. The concept has given birth to copious discussions in scores of planful books and articles on economic stabilization, trade, tariff, and money and banking. In a dozen or more dealing with economic stabilization, the challenges to and limitations of economic planning are more apparent than well delineated planning itself. In the quest for stability, suggestions are made by Samuel Crowther, F. H. McDonald, R. G. Tugwell, and others. Another dozen examine into the "hardened arteries" of foreign and domestic trade where discussion pertains to such problems as our merchant marine, freight-rate rebating, and grocery warehousing. Inseparable from the considerations of trade is the question of tariff as set forth in numerous publications by such diagnosticians as H. A. Arendtz, R. E. Flanders, M. C. Rorty, and F. W. Taussig. In the category of money and banking at least another dozen analyses, with implicit if not explicit plans, have been given.

*Agricultural:* A brief look overseas reveals England with a plan whereby products will be graded and branded under a "national mark." Europe has been concerned especially about sugar regulation while the "North European Farmers Incorporated" is a bold scheme whereby a union of all the agricultural interests in the Baltic countries is proposed; this to



be independent of the State. Cuba wants help through a National Sugar Institute. Much can be found on Palestinian settlement planning and on the Russian programs. For Australia, in addition to the Patterson butter plan of 1928 and proposals on sheep for the island continent as a whole, the southern section has been particularly active with farm improvement.

Farm relief has been holding the center of the domestic stage for many years with titles too numerous to mention. Next to farm relief itself more literature has issued on the Farm Board than upon any other one aspect of the problem. Another much verbalized phase is marketing. The pleas and plans on control of production seems to focus on limitation of acreage and production. The McNary-Haugen and Debenture plans have seen the rise and fall of hopes, if not the rise of prices. What will the domestic allotment plan accomplish? Suggestive of the Baltic plan above is the "Allied Farms of North and South America" which calls upon farmers and stockmen to organize not only to correct this emergency but to make another impossible.

Agricultural reform can be achieved by "putting the factory on the farm" as one corporation in Montana has done. Another writer advises a diversification plan that succeeded in Georgia. J. D. Black has a comprehensive volume on the subject. When Sinclair Lewis tells "What's Wrong with Farmers," he, too, lets a plan trickle out of his pen.

Kansas, New Jersey, and Oregon, are among the States which through one or another conference or extension service, have set forth agricultural programs. Much has also been said about better land utilization, special attention being given to sub-marginal areas.

*Industrial:* Here are 20 titles on stabilization; 9 on scientific management; 7 on

employees' welfare; 6 on government control or aid; 5 on labor programs; 3 on research; and a few others. Among the industries where there exists either aspiration or achievement in stabilization through planning are the following: coffee, coal, electric power, lumber, petroleum, potash, rubber, railroads, sugar, telephone and telegraph, and textiles.

From the international standpoint the Chadbourne Plan for stabilizing the world's sugar industry is significant. Plans and pro-rating are also in the air for the oil industry.

Gerard Swope's name has appeared in at least six journals under the title: "Stabilization of Industry." His plan in his own General Electric Company is well known. Wisconsin's lumbering was one of the first practical attempts of an entire industry to straighten the employment curve.

The *Survey* of April 1, 1929 presents some "Going Plans of American Management," where reasonable security supplants uncertainty of employment in such industries as canning, clothing, dates, floor wax, hats, paper, soap, and shoes. Not only has industry offered its plans but labor is now setting forth programs of its own devising.

By means of its Cotton Textile Institute, this Industry seems to have at once a research channel and a means of much needed scientific-human adjustment.

"Does Trade Need Anti-Trust Laws?" is a recurrent question for bodies like the Cotton Textile Institute which might function more effectively if allowed freer regulative powers. Through a federal charter and government oversight the possibility of a plan is seen by W. H. Hamilton and H. R. Wright for aiding the coal industry. The nature of a business such as the American Telephone and Telegraph Company requires long-view planning.

## SOCIAL

Patrick Geddes has pointed out that mankind is moving from nationalism and imperialism to regional and civic developments,—consider the League of Nations, disarmament conferences, and regional surveys. International Social Service composed of the Red Cross and various foundations did not come into being unplanned, and while we in this country have cared for dependents largely by means of private social agencies since 1900, the need created by increasing unemployment is helping to bring up to modern standards the welfare work of cities and counties. The trend toward regionalism is observable but the ecological unit varies widely from the city neighborhood to a sizeable geographic area. Suggestions for meeting definite social problems range from "The National Origins Plan for Restricting Immigration" and control of liquor traffic to care of the feeble-minded and combating of crime, the latter efforts being divided between police programs and handling of prisoners in institutions.

*Child Welfare:* Here the stage of piecemeal planning has been left behind, the tendency now being toward an integrated design with the whole child as the central figure. Thirty-five states take thought for the health and legal and social welfare of "Children Born out of Wedlock." Pennsylvania has undertaken a many-sided ten year program for its youthful dependents, while Alabama's handicapped children are under the care of the County Welfare Board. That a community may not be too small a unit to plan for child conservation is shown by the experience of Berkeley, California, while in Europe, Vienna is a laboratory for this and other social experiments. The book, *The Protection of Women and Children in Soviet Russia* reveals one of the most humane phases of the schemes of the U. S. S. R.

*Community:* Good roads and relatively "free wheeling" create new phases of social pathology to combat which is offered *A Community Plan for Service to Transients*. Transient families, homeless men, women, and boys are becoming in many towns a serious challenge. Several plans for meeting the more familiar problems of dependency and public health are reviewed in *Community and Social Welfare*. Better citizenship appears to be a community goal alike in urban and rural sections. A much-travelled road to this end nowadays is adult education, effective on both sides of the Atlantic. That cities as well as citizens may profitably resort to fiscal planning is evidenced by a ten-year experiment in a bankrupt industrial community, Fall River, Massachusetts.

*Government:* Larger units of administration and consolidation of services are the earmarks of regionalism as applied to reorganization of government, both in rural and metropolitan areas. While some early attempts failed to justify expectations the soundness of the concept has not been disproved. The city manager is given considerable discussion, both theoretical and practical. The county manager plan is even more in the trial and error stage. Taxes furnish a recurring theme, with a range from municipal to federal reduction.

*Health:* The five year program of study by the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care has just been completed. The sum of purposive thought on this subject is, better health for lower cost. "A Cure for Doctor's Bills" is the subject of at least a third of the titles in this group, with some form of insurance heading the list of successful plans. The community seems to be the most workable unit for health organization, whose emphasis is on prevention of illness. Working plans for reducing the cost of hospitalization for the patient

are endowments, a large-scale philanthropy, and institutional management.

*Housing:* Recent trends in American housing, and in European projects as well, are toward comprehensive planning, as was brought out in the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. Slum clearance has a place of importance; financing is an ever-present problem; zoning and other phases of regional planning are closely related. Vienna receives honorable mention from several sources for her progress in low-cost home-building. Great Britain has similar municipal developments, and France has made a promising start in the same direction. Government participation is an accepted part of European experiments, not wholly disapproved by American authorities.

*Social Insurance* takes two main directions: State projects as embodied in German and British experience, and industrial pensions. "The Modern Problem of Care of the Aged" is in the forefront of discussion, and has gone beyond that point in at least 17 states. The success of all social insurance is seen to rest upon the actuarial basis and upon the funding of the reserve.

#### UNEMPLOYMENT

Many of the titles under this head would also normally come under social insurance. In fact, nineteen concerned with unemployment insurance were originally so listed but were finally removed to differentiate them from the more comprehensive schemes in which job insurance was one factor. Measures differ, especially regarding the contributory and incentive features, complicated by the double purpose of relief and regularization. "Unemployment Insurance in Europe" shows a tendency toward compulsory plans under government supervision. In the United States, also, this idea is receiving some

scrutiny. But so far the greatest success seems to be coming from the voluntary schemes of individual industries, based on funds jointly accumulated by workers and employers. Many cities have undertaken employment projects, but those looking only to immediate relief were not included in this study. Of the longer range plans that of Rochester appears most often with other noteworthy efforts coming from Philadelphia and Trenton. The Wisconsin plan has already been emphasized. In the last two years the international aspects of employment have emerged. The proposals center around employment exchanges and uniformity of industrial standards, and public works. The latter is one of the methods most often suggested in this country, but, when attempted, the main obstacle has been unwise expenditure. Stabilization of wages to ensure more stable purchasing power is not an untried field, either for speculation or for experimentation. Combination plans, coördinating several phases of employment, are appearing with greater frequency as the problem becomes more acute, and reflect such diverse viewpoints as those of the President's Committee on Unemployment, of organized labor, and of legislation.

#### EMERGENCY

A flood of paper plans followed closely on the heels of the rampage in which Old Man River indulged in 1927; these stressing economic and political as well as engineering aspects in taming the Mississippi. Perhaps it is yet too early to judge whether or not the projects will meet the fate of similar efforts after the Seine disaster in 1910. Drought appears to call up relief plans exclusively. Earthquakes necessitate much replanning, and the Tokyo cataclysm stimulated in America a unique attempt to guard against explosion hazards in a volatile industry.

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## NEED OF PLANNING

Since recognition of a need is a step in the direction of solving any problem, it has been thought not amiss to include in this study such a category as "pleas for plans," even though the writings in question made little or no effort to formulate such a program, and in some cases admitted bafflement. The largest number of titles call for help in agricultural economics where many authors believe that a national policy may be the solution. Nor is the problem confined to our own country. Another field for national planning, not yet adequately explored, is seen to be economic, since here a closer union of business and government might relieve the unemployment situation. World planning is in its infancy nursed by a new spirit of internationalism and reaching toward world peace.

The "social order" clamors for a way out of economic disorder. Is economic planning possible? The authors of *Business Adrift* and *Thunder and Dawn* affirm that statesmanlike leadership can achieve the needed balance between production and distribution. In a plan-or-perish mood the exponents of *A Planned Society* and *A New Deal* concur with the writer of *American Faces the Future* in advising a planned economy for the old super-individualism in business and industry. For them a National Planning Board of experts representing the whole public, backed by law and governmentally supported, will bring about coöperation, either voluntarily or by compulsion. Less sanguine, however, are such writers as H. G. Wells and Walter Lippmann. Nations everywhere are "looking out for number one." Here in America a deeply ingrained "wilful individualism" renders a planned or dictated economy practically impossible

of accomplishment. In France, Le Conseil National Économique seems to disappoint Gide who remarked in 1928 that "little of the material in the nearly one hundred reports prepared in the three years of the life of the Council has been acted upon by the government." The problem apparently is not one of social engineering so much as it is of statesmanship and education, of finding plans that are not only acceptable to a nation or people but in which they will actually coöperate. First having coöperated among themselves, then comes the superproblem of harmonious international adjustment of the separate plans and policies of many nations. A large order for a discrete "social order!"

Several critics have referred to the flow of nonsense that has been spreading abroad in recent years under the guise of planning. Some of it is palpably propaganda of vested interests; some of it is clearly controversial. Very much of it is vaguely conceived and heavily wishful. The birth and mortality rates of "plans" are beyond the present powers of a sociological actuary. But more important than all this is that *scientific method* and *orderly planning* have emerged at all. As the President's Research Committee on Social Trends has pointed out: "The best that any group of economic planners can do with the data now at hand is to lay plans for making plans."

Were it not that the material here presented evinces a sincerity consonant with the seriousness of the present collapse, the future historian might suspect our planners and technocrats of playing amid the jagged fragments, of indulging in an academic fad, a sort of socio-politico-economic jig-saw puzzle. But theirs is an awful earnestness.



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## A SCIENCE OF SETTLEMENT

RUPERT B. VANCE

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THE PIONEER FRINGE. By Isaiah Bowman. New York: American Geographical Society, 1931. 361 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.

PIONEER SETTLEMENT. Coöperative Studies by Twenty-Six Authors. New York: American Geographical Society, 1932. 473 pp. Maps. \$5.00.

In *The Pioneer Fringe* and *Pioneer Settlement* we have the garnered fruits of a four year program of research in world pioneer belts initiated by Isaiah Bowman and supported by the Social Science Research Council and the American Geographical Society. Beautifully printed, filled with eloquent illustrations and carefully executed maps, the volumes are calculated to afford artistic and scientific thrills to any geographer who gives a rap for his frontier zones. Too long has the frontier been regarded as purely an American phenomenon. To develop a science of settlement worthy of inclusion in the domain of human geography the study of pioneering must be made comparative. In the *Pioneer Fringe*, Bowman discusses the general principles of pioneer settlement and proceeds to illustrate them by regional examples; in *Pioneer Settlement*, twenty-six specialists coöperate in case studies of seven pioneer belts of which they have intimate knowledge.

The pioneer fringe is the initial stage in the settlement of a new region by representatives of advanced cultures. Frontiers have been made possible by the existence of unexplored or unclaimed territories, virgin soils, free or nominally priced lands,

and large or unrestricted immigration. They are characterized by sparsity of population, self-sufficing economy, and the crude living conditions and uncouth manners of a less complex culture. Present-day frontiers differ from the American example largely in possessing lands more subject to extremes of either rainfall, climate or inaccessibility; in leaving less to untrammelled individualism and more to public policy. The old frontier Bowman points out was pre-machine; the new pioneer leaves behind him the greater comfort, culture, and power of a more highly mechanized civilization. Mere land is no longer a boon and plain fare and homespun are no longer desired. Fully wedded to the comfort standards of mass production, the modern pioneer finds his women folks unwilling to stand the hardship and lack of refinement of the frontier. Nevertheless, every fall in the price of farm products and every decrease in economic security, each wave of wiped-out capital, high taxes, and debt services sends its hordes of luck hunters to the untried zones of the world. Here on little-known lands may be found less need for capital, lower taxes, unexpected fertility, new crop combinations, and the hope of rising land values with a better chance for the future and the children. In these experimental zones transportation and labor (except for South Africa) come high; while often special techniques are demanded as in dry farming, along with special varieties of



plants, as drought-resistant and frost-resistant cereals. Failure leaves slums of settlement to be liquidated by society; success may lead to an over-production in certain products that menaces the security of long settled areas. It is Bowman's conclusion that the substitution of science for promotion will dictate the withdrawal of certain pioneer zones from settlement.

Part Two of Bowman's volume and all of *Pioneer Settlement* are devoted to zones of experiment in the semi-arid lands of the Western United States, the prairie provinces of Canada, the eastern foothills of the Patagonian Andes, the cool subtropical highlands of South Africa, the southern edge of the forest belt of Siberia, the lowland plains of Manchuria, and the inner side of the arable crescent of Australia. The specialists treat at greater length of the geographic adjustments to soil and climate, history of early settlement, colonization and migration, native labor in Rhodesia, the economics of settlement, the social structure of frontier communities, and the problems pioneers meet in land utilization. On the whole, the regional studies, while guilty of some overlapping, reach a higher level of research effort than the generalities. The reviewer feels that in spite of interesting quotations, readable style, and many pleasing generalizations,

no clear formulation of the issues of the science of settlement emerges. It is, of course, not to be expected that Dr. Bowman and associates should do as much for world pioneering in four years as Turner did for the American Frontier in a lifetime. The weakness in the theoretical section of the *Pioneer Fringe* is due, so this reviewer feels, to a lack of economic and resource analysis. Integrated discussions of the frontier as colonial economy, of mineral versus agricultural frontiers, of comparative resource advantages, of extractive versus fabricating economies, of tropical perennials versus annuals, of plantations versus ranches versus the self-sufficing frontier farms, of the position of the frontier on the fringe of the modern technology of structural metals, power fuels, mass production and credit structure—all are needed. The regional analyses reach a high level of interpretation and only limitations of space prevent separate discussion and tribute. The chapters on Siberia and Manchuria are particularly valuable and timely. Throughout, the analysis of geographic factors especially in soil and climate leave little to be desired. Both volumes commend themselves to wide use among social scientists of various persuasions.

### REGIONAL DEMOGRAPHY

WALTER J. MATHERLY

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HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTH. A Study in Regional Resources and Human Adequacy. By Rupert B. Vance. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1932. 596 pp. Maps. \$4.00.

This volume, as its sub-title indicates, is a study in regional resources and human adequacy. It exhibits the new approach

to geography. Not so many years ago geography was thought of as a science dealing with the physiographic aspects of the earth, with national boundaries, with the location of places, and with the resources of physical environment. This conception of geography has undergone a radical change. No longer is geography

limited to a study of places and strictly physical features; it has become a science dealing not only with physical factors but also with economic, social, political, and cultural factors. Dr. Vance for the first time among writers of books dealing with the South accepts the new conception of geography and provides a fresh approach to the problems of the South.

The attitude of Dr. Vance in writing the book is set forth in the first two paragraphs of the preface. The first paragraph reads as follows:

Regionalism and the new geography afford a point of vantage from which this volume views the American South as a test of human adequacy to master the resources of its region and to develop thereon a distinctive and competent culture.

The second paragraph continues with the following:

"However much he would have enjoyed it, the author has not written a regional sociology of the South. Nor does he contend that the relation of the resources of a region to the cultural adequacy of its population yet forms the subject matter of human geography. At such a point, however, converge the lines of force from geography, ecology, human biology, economics, and technology. Within this scaffolding of nature and culture has been erected the architecture of a region. With many a side glance at the historical development, this volume attempts to give a synthetic treatment of the interaction of men and nature in the American South.

*Human Geography of the South* contains eighteen chapters. After an introductory chapter, devoted to physical and cultural factors in the concept of a region, the author divides the book into four parts. I. *Backgrounds: Physical and Cultural* deals with the physiographic regions of the South, population movements across the map of the South, and the changing frontiers of the South. II. *Regions and Resources* is devoted to an analysis of southern soils, piney woods, live stock in the South, cotton economy, fringes of the cotton belt,

southern highlands, delta region with its plantation heritage, Piedmont section with its rapid industrialization, and the meeting of the South and West in the Southwest. III. *Human Relations of Climate* is concerned with a study of the southern climate and its effects upon health, energy, diet, and human adequacy. IV. *Prospect and Retrospect* analyzes the structure of a regional economy and suggests possibilities of regional reconstruction.

Dr. Vance's book is a scholarly treatise. He exhibits an amazing familiarity with the literature concerning his subject. He has thoroughly documented almost every page. While he has tapped a wide variety of source materials, he has not merely copied or paraphrased what others have said; he has introduced individual reasoning; he has reached conclusions of his own; he has interpreted; and he has arrived at a philosophy of southern regionalism.

One of the features of the book that is particularly valuable is the comprehensive bibliography at the back. This bibliography is classified under three heads: Books; Periodicals; and Pamphlets, Monographs, Reports, Bulletins, and Fugitive Materials. The bibliography is arranged alphabetically by authors. Anyone wanting to pursue further reading in regional geography or to check up on the accuracy of either the author's quotations or his citations may readily do so by making use of the bibliography.

Another feature of the book that is interesting and at the same time illuminating is the frequent use of maps and statistical tables. Scattered throughout the book are found twenty-nine maps and forty-seven tables. These maps and tables greatly assist the reader to grasp more readily the analyses contained in the text itself.

The volume is very readable. Too often

geographers as well as other scientists prepare texts that are dry and uninteresting; they pay little or no attention to literary style; they seem to think the object of their book is solely to impart scientific information and, since this is the case, they are in no wise called upon to cast what they have to say in language that is attractive and that possesses literary merit. Of such a charge Dr. Vance is not guilty. He has made geography a live, vital thing. While he has passed in review huge quantities of data gathered from a wide variety of sources and while he has dealt with problems frequently of an abstract nature, he has done so without boring the reader or without compelling him to go back and reread certain paragraphs and even sentences two or three times in order to grasp what the author is driving at or what notions he really intends to convey. Dr. Vance has achieved a style and injected a vitality in his book seldom found in volumes of this character.

The writer of this review is a student of economics and the social sciences, not a geographer. While he has watched with interest the new trends in geography and especially recent developments in regional geography, he cannot speak with authority on the purely technical phases of geography. He, therefore, is unable to appraise Dr. Vance's book as a pure product of geography. Possibly Dr. Vance is not a pure and undefiled geographer anyway. It is doubtful whether a geographer trained in the physical or even in the economic aspects of geography could do for the South what Dr. Vance has done. In the writing of a book of this type one needs a decidedly broad point of view. He needs to be more than a geographer, an economist, a sociologist or a historian; he must be able to cut across several disciplines. Only a man with broad, cultural, and scientific interests and with wide study

of many of the social sciences could achieve what Dr. Vance has achieved. The author of this review feels that Dr. Vance's book falls little short of being remarkable.

There is a great temptation to examine the book in detail and to quote a multitude of excerpts, but it is doubtful if either excerpts or a detailed review of each chapter would exhibit the full significance of the book. Possibly to make such an attempt would be to do an injustice to the treatise as a whole. The only way to appraise the book properly is to read it thoughtfully and carefully. A review of it can only indicate its contents and attempt to place it roughly in the field of social science literature.

While perhaps the book does not contain specific original contributions to the knowledge of the South, it nevertheless treats old knowledge in new ways. It brings together scattered literature concerning the South as well as other regions of the world, makes comparisons, and presents fresh points of view. Dr. Vance writes without bias and is unfettered by tradition. He questions a great many commonly accepted opinions and conclusions concerning the South. For example, in chapters fourteen and fifteen where he discusses climate and its effect upon energy, health, diet, and human adequacy, he questions the notion expounded by many that climate is primarily responsible for the backwardness of the South and for the lack of intellectual attainment in the South. While it might be argued that he has not made out his case, he has at least shown an open mind and asks for further proof.

Possibly the most valuable section of the book deals with the structure of regional economy in the South and the methods of reconstructing that economy. Those who are interested in regional planning will undoubtedly find the last chap-

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ter particularly stimulating. Dr. Vance defines regional planning (p. 483) as follows: "Regional planning may then be defined for our purpose as an attempt at coordination of all regional changes and readjustments toward a desirable goal." That planning of this kind or of some other kind is needed in the South, few will deny. The book as a whole offers a wealth of data as well as a wealth of suggestions to meet the foregoing need.

Dr. Vance suggests that there are three philosophies of regionalism contending at present for mastery in the South. Since this statement, he suggests, may have the "ring of the dramatic," he concludes that a truer statement would be that "three attitudes toward regionalism are implicit in the position of three southern groups." These three groups, he characterizes, "as the promoters of industrialism, the proponents of agrarianism, and a certain small sprinkling of liberals, technicians and university scholars."

This classification of groups in the South was particularly interesting to the writer of this review because he had suggested in a recent address in the lower South a similar classification. He suggested that the proponents of agrarianism might be considered the left wing, the promoters of industrialism the right wing, and the liberals or middle "grounders," who believe that the South needs the best in industrialism as well as the best in agrarianism, the center. It looks as if the center, or what Dr. Vance calls the liberals, technicians, and university scholars, are more likely to be on the right track than the other two groups. If we are to have

regional planning and if the South is to progress according to plan, we will do so possibly by following the leadership of those who appropriate and work into their programs the best features of industrialism and the best features of agrarianism and who travel the middle road rather than either the road to the right or the road to the left.

The author of this review may possibly be biased in his attitude toward Dr. Vance's book. If so, his bias is due, not so much to his inability to assume a critical attitude toward the book, as to his enthusiastic support of anyone who attempts to travel new pathways. It is a volume that deserves warm sympathetic as well as cold scientific attention. It is a social handbook on the South. It is of interest to economists, sociologists, political scientists, and historians as well as geographers. It will appeal to every intelligent man and woman in the South. It would make an excellent text for a college course in the regional geography of the South. It should find a place on the desk of every enlightened southerner.

No doubt some geographers will find fault with some of Dr. Vance's notions concerning human geography. His book is not perfect. There are some errors in it. For example, he makes this statement (p. 502): "In every point the Florida boom of 1927 is at variance with regional planning." Of course, the Florida boom did not occur in 1927. It occurred in 1925. There may be other slight errors, but the book as a whole is in general accurate and scholarly. It is a noteworthy contribution to social studies in the South.



## HARRY ELMER BARNES AT LARGE

BENJ. B. KENDRICK

*The Woman's College of the University of North Carolina*

CAN MAN BE CIVILIZED? By Harry Elmer Barnes.  
New York: Brentano's, 1932. 307 pp. \$2.50.

In this slender volume Dr. Barnes undertakes to analyze a half-score of contemporary society's more insistent problems and to point the way in general terms, at least, to their solution. To this task he brings a fund of information, a breadth of vision, and a range of scholarship which is Aristotelian or Spencerian in its scope. His familiarity with the aspects, accomplishments, and implications of modern social and natural science is at once the wonder and despair of more specialized investigators. This tendency of Dr. Barnes to roam at large over the whole field of human knowledge and infringe upon the precincts of the specialist has at times caused such epithets as *dilettante* and *mere journalist* to be hurled at him by guardians of the sacred portals of history, sociology, medicine, criminology, religion, anthropology and so on. Never loathe, however, to break a lance with such guardian as evidences a willingness to sally forth in verbal defense of his bailiwick, the intellectual "Happy Warrior" has advanced to the attack, neither giving nor asking quarter, has pressed the charge until the discomfited defender more often than not has retired as gracefully as may be to the haughty fortresses of "Academic Dignity" and "Good Taste" which even the heavy artillery of Barnes has been unable to demolish. Even so, his lurking in the vicinity has caused the denizens of the forts to walk more warily and with greater circumspection when they go for a stroll on their own parade grounds, lest a stray shot from the ever-watchful besieger ruffle their academic composure. All of

which is wholly to the good as it has added gaiety to an ordinarily dull and monotonous intellectual existence.

In this book Dr. Barnes seems to be sobered by the impasse at which civilization has arrived and is less light-hearted than in some of his former writings and is not quite so polemical. With deadly earnestness and forthrightness he moves forward to the attainment of his main objective which is the answer to the interrogation he raises in the title of his book. He gives an affirmative answer to his question, provided: (a) Religion can be stripped of superstition; (b) A new code of morals can be developed to meet the needs of a society which is totally altered from that in which our present code was formulated; (c) We can go forward in the development of a science of mental hygiene; (d) Further progress can be made in the determination of human behavior; (e) Sanity in matters of sex can be attained; (f) A real science of criminology can be created; (g) War can be eliminated; (h) Decency in industry can be established; (i) Man can be taught how to use his leisure and liberty; (j) A solution can be found to the problem of education.

It must be confessed at the outset that this is a formidable array of provisos, and one might be tempted to say that the author maintains that *man can be civilized provided he can be civilized*, for the foregoing problems are indeed the problems of civilization, no less. And yet this is not a fruitless discussion.

The meaning of civilization, says the author, is the social ideal toward which men have always striven. Barnes is inclined to lay the blame for the failure of

previous civilizations on three things: (a) the effort of men to control nature and their relations with one another through an appeal to the gods; (b) through a reliance upon the efficacy of words wherein words are substituted for things; (c) the use of mere logic and mathematics which are useful enough in providing a guide "for disciplined and accurate thinking, but for the acquisition of new knowledge long and painstaking observation of facts is necessary. For fruitful thought, it is not enough that one should be able to think correctly; he must also have something to think about. This the leisure-loving and speculative Greeks tended to forget. They were temperamentally averse to the tedious labor of studying mere facts."

Barnes maintains that it is important that we discard reliance upon the gods so that we may the more readily be willing to assume responsibility on our own account for our condition and our fate.

On the point of mental hygiene we may summarize two of Dr. Barnes's categorical imperatives. First, we should make much more heavy drafts upon industrial psychology, properly so called, in order to reduce as much as possible the fatigue and boredom incident to modern mechanical processes and office life. The industrial system should be subordinated to the production of a happier and more prosperous society, instead of retaining the profit motive as the core of all economic effort. Second, in our general personal attitude and social relationships, we should recognize that it is necessary to depart from the inferiority complex and psychic uneasiness inherent in conventional Christianity and to seek for that intellectual serenity and that feeling of personal adequacy which characterized the best Greek philosophy.

Barnes is neither Socialist nor Commu-

nist but he feels that far-reaching changes must be made in our industrial order to the end that we may "create a new set of ideals which would use the machine as the means of quickly and easily providing for our physical needs and then leave enough leisure for the real cultivation of life."

Dr. Barnes takes his stand with Professor Counts and other recent writers in maintaining that a "measured and sound propaganda for the progressive or liberal outlook" should be an integral part of any comprehensive system of education. The essence of the case for education in relation to social progress is "that we have our choice between: (1) reactionary domination, which means an arrested civilization and ultimate extinction; or, (2) social change, driven either by indignation and emotional revolution or by sound conviction and scientific information. With such alternatives the choice should be easy, once the literal necessity of making this choice is driven home to the dominant elements in the community."

These no doubt are words of wisdom and truth. However, they leave us in a dilemma which the author does not squarely face although he indicates awareness of it. The dilemma is this: On the one hand the masters of the present order in the last analysis control our educational system and our funds for research as Dr. Barnes elsewhere in this book agrees. The educators and researchers, either through being relatively well paid or by reason of natural bent and inertia are pretty well satisfied with their own and their country's condition. They do not have the mind or the hardihood to carry on propaganda for the liberal and progressive point of view. On the other hand it is only through genuinely liberal education and untrammelled research in the social sciences that orderly progress can be realized. Query. How then can revolution be

staved off after all? It may be that increasing economic insecurity and the continuing challenge of the existing crisis, if sufficiently prolonged, may work together to render the intellectuals more liberal and radical. So far there is little to indicate that such a change is overtaking them. If we depend upon them in their present state of mind to furnish the pabulum for progressivism to feed upon we

are constrained still to agree with the pathetic line penned by Milton three hundred years ago and add another to it:

"The sheep look up and are not fed:"  
Our country's flag may yet be Red!

In the meanwhile let all educators in general and social scientists in particular read, ponder, and take to heart this challenging book.

### NEW BOOKS RECEIVED

- REPORT OF THE JUDICIAL COUNCIL OF NEW JERSEY ON CRIMINAL ACTIONS IN THE COURTS OF GENERAL JURISDICTION IN 1931. By Henry E. Ackerson, Jr., W. Holt Apgar, and others. Preprint from Third Annual Report of Judicial Council of New Jersey.
- POLITICA METHODICE DIGESTA OF JOHANNES ALTHUSIUS (ALTHAUS). Reprinted from the Third Edition of 1614. Augmented by the Preface of the First Edition of 1603 and by 21 hitherto Unpublished Letters of the Author. With an Introduction by Carl Joachim Friedrich. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932. 345 pp. (Harvard Political Classics, Vol. II.)
- A CENSUS OF SOCIAL WORK POSITIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1932. Conducted by the Boston Chapter, American Association of Social Workers. Under the direction of Maurice Taylor. 25 Blossom Street, Boston, Massachusetts: American Association of Social Workers, 1932. 31 pp.
- PSYCHIATRY IN EDUCATION. By V. V. Anderson. In collaboration with Willie Maude Kennedy. New York: Harper's, 1932. 430 pp. \$4.00.
- POPULATION TRENDS IN NEW YORK STATE, 1900 TO 1930. By W. A. Anderson. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, Bulletin 547, 1932. 60 pp.
- REVELATIONS IN MORMONISM. Its Character and Changing Forms. By George Bartholomew Arbaugh. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932. 252 pp. \$3.00.
- ARCHIV FÜR GESCHICHTE DER PHILOSOPHIE. Berlin: Carl Heymanns Verlag, 1932.
- TAKAMERE AND TONHON. Two Little Red Children In Their Prairie Home. By Anna Williams Arnett. Chicago: Beckley Cardy Company, 1932. 136 pp. Illustrated by Dorothy Saunders. \$70.
- THE ATTITUDE OF THE JEWISH STUDENT IN THE COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES TOWARDS HIS RELIGION. A Social Study of Religious Changes. New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 1932. 264 pp.
- EARTH HORIZON. Autobiography. By Mary Austin. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932. 381 pp. Illustrated. \$4.00.
- THE STATE THAT FORGOT. South Carolina's Surrender to Democracy. By William Watts Ball. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1932. 307 pp. \$2.50.
- A PARADE OF THE STATES. By Bruce Barton. Foreword by Alfred P. Sloan, Jr. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1932. Distributed by Garden City Publishing Company. 198 pp. Illustrated. \$1.00.
- THE FRENCH RACE: Theories of Its Origins and Their Social and Political Implications. By Jacques Barzun. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. 275 pp. \$4.25.
- GOLDEN TALES OF THE PRAIRIE STATES. Selected with an Introduction by May Lamberton Becker. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1932. 355 pp. \$2.50.
- ANGLO-GERMAN IMPERIALISM IN SOUTH AFRICA. By Raymond Walter Bixler. Baltimore: Warwick and York, Inc., 1932. 181 pp. \$2.75.
- LAISSEZ FAIRE AND AFTER. By O. Fred Bouckle. New York: Crowell, 1932. 342 pp. \$3.00.
- REPORT OF FATHERS' COMMITTEE, UNITED PARENTS ASSOCIATIONS. LeRoy E. Bowman, Chairman. New York: United Parents Associations of New York City, Inc., 1932. 9 pp. Mimeographed.
- EDUCATION AS GUIDANCE. An examination of the possibilities of a curriculum in terms of life activities, in elementary and secondary school and college. By John M. Brewer. New York: Macmillan, 1932. 668 pp. \$2.75.
- PERSONALITY, MANY IN ONE. By James Winfred Bridges. Boston: The Stratford Company. 215 pp. \$2.00.
- CHILDREN OF THE SOIL. A Story of Scandinavia. By Nora Burglon. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1932. 272 pp. Illustrated. \$2.00. (A Junior book.)

- LEISURE IN THE MODERN WORLD. By C. Delisle Burns. New York: Century, 1932. 302 pp. \$2.50.
- THE WEST IS STILL WILD. Romance of the Present and the Past. By Harry Carr. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932. 257 pp. Illustrated. \$2.50.
- UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF IN ONTARIO, 1929-1932. A Survey and Report. By H. M. Cassidy. Under the auspices of The Unemployment Research Committee of Ontario. Toronto and Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1932. 290 pp.
- A GOODLY HERITAGE. By Mary Ellen Chase. New York: Holt, 1932. 298 pp. \$3.00.
- THE 1931 FLOOD IN CHINA. An Economic Survey by the Department of Agricultural Economics, College of Agriculture and Forestry, The University of Nanking in cooperation with the National Flood Relief Commission. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932. 74 pp. \$1.00.
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- ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION FOR THE FISCAL YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1932. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1932. 35 pp.
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- ENGLISH PUBLIC FINANCE, 1558-1641. By Frederick C. Dietz. New York: Century, 1932. 478 pp. \$4.00.
- THE JUNIOR COLLEGE. By Walter Crosby Eells. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1932. 833 pp.
- THE NEW BRITISH EMPIRE. By W. Y. Elliott. New York: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill, 1932. 519 pp. \$5.00.
- MODERN FOREIGN EXCHANGE. An Elementary Treatise for the Lay Reader. By Franklin Escher. New York: Macmillan, 1932. 223 pp. \$2.00.
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- STATE AID IN SEVERAL FORMS OF PUBLIC RELIEF. By James Fogarty. Washington, D. C.: The Catholic University of America, 1932. 189 pp.
- RESEARCH BARRIERS IN THE SOUTH. By Wilson Gee. New York: Century, 1932. 192 pp.
- THE SOCIAL ECONOMICS OF AGRICULTURE. By Wilson Gee. New York: Macmillan, 1932. 696 pp. \$3.60.
- THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND NAPOLEON. By Leo Gershoy. New York: F. S. Crofts and Co., 1933. 576 pp. \$5.00.
- THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE. Complete and unabridged in two volumes. By Edward Gibbon. New York: The Modern Library, 1932. Vol. I, A. D. 180-476, 1303 pp. Vol. II, A. D. 476-1461, 1476 pp. \$1.00 per volume.
- AMERICAN POPULATION BEFORE THE FEDERAL CENSUS OF 1790. By Evarts B. Greene. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. 228 pp. \$3.50.
- PETER ASHLEY. By DuBose Heyward. New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1932. 316 pp.
- A SOCIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF CERTAIN TYPES OF PATRIOTISM. A Study of Certain Patriotic Attitudes, Particularly as These Appear in Peace-Time Controversies in the United States. By Earle L. Hunter. New York: Author, 1932. 263 pp. (Doctor's dissertation, Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University.)
- STORM OVER ASIA. By Paul Hutchinson. New York: Holt, 1932. 310 pp. \$3.00.
- BEHIND THE DOOR OF DELUSION. By "Inmate Ward 8." New York: Macmillan, 1932. 325 pp. \$2.00.
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- MEN AGAINST DEATH. By Paul de Kruif. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1932. 363 pp. Illustrated.
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- HISTORY OF NAVARRO COUNTY. By Annie Carpenter Love. Dallas, Texas: Southwest Press, 1933. 278 pp. \$2.50.
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- DESERTION OF ALABAMA TROOPS FROM THE CONFEDERATE ARMY. A Study in Sectionalism. By Bessie Martin. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. 281 pp. \$4.50.
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- A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF TEXAS. By Lewis W. Newton and Herbert P. Gambrell. Dallas, Texas: Southwest Press, 1932. 422 pp. Illustrated. \$2.00.
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- TRADE-UNION POLICIES IN THE MASSACHUSETTS SHOE INDUSTRY. By Thomas L. Norton. New York: Columbia University Press, 1932. 377 pp. \$5.00.
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- GATHERING STORM. A Story of the Black Belt. By Dorothy Myra Page. New York: International Publishers, 1932. 374 pp. \$2.00.
- STATE GOVERNMENT IN VIRGINIA. By James E. Pate. College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va.: Author, 1932. 270 pp.
- NEVER ASK THE END. By Isabel Paterson. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1933. 332 pp. \$2.50.
- READINGS IN THE HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT. By S. Howard Patterson. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1932. 745 pp. Illustrated. \$3.75.
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- HOME OWNERSHIP, INCOME AND TYPES OF DWELLINGS. Reports of the Committee on Home Ownership and Leasing, Ernest T. Trigg, Chairman; Relationship of Income and the Home, Niles Carpenter, Chairman; Types of Dwellings, Johns Ihlder, Chairman. Edited by John M. Griess and James Ford, assisted by James S. Taylor. Washington, D. C.: The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, 1932. 230 pp. \$1.15 postpaid.
- HOUSEHOLD MANAGEMENT AND KITCHENS. Edited by John M. Griess and James Ford. Washington, D. C.: The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, 1932. Illustrated. 228 pp. \$1.15.
- HOUSING OBJECTIVES AND PROGRAMS. General Sessions of the Conference and Reports of the Correlating Committees on Technological Developments, Legislation and Administration, Standards and Objectives, Education and Service, Organization Programs, Local and Nation, Research. Edited by John M. Gries and James Ford. Washington, D. C.: The President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership, 1932. 345 pp. Illustrated. \$1.15.
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- THE TRIBES OF THE ASHANTI HINTERLAND. By R. S. Rattray. With a chapter by D. Westerman. 2 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1932. 604 pp. Illustrated. \$12.00.
- VICE IN CHICAGO. By Walter C. Reckless. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932. 314 pp. \$3.00.
- A TAX WITHOUT A BURDEN. By George Reiter. Revised Enlarged Second Edition. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1930. 177 pp. \$1.50.
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